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Excavations at Tal Atchana, 1937

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IN the spring of 1936 the Expedition cleared a large part of the al Mina site at the mouth of the Orontes and cut trial trenches on the inland *tell* of Atchana. Having regard to the importance of the results obtained the Trustees of the British Museum made a large grant towards the cost of the Atchana excavation; the Ashmolean Museum continued its support of the previous year, and the generous help given by private supporters in 1936 was again forthcoming; my sincere thanks are due to those who thus made our work possible.

As in 1936, my wife was responsible for the drawings as well as helping in the field work; and Mr. P. W. Murray Thriepland was general archaeological assistant. As Mr. F. N. Pryce could not be spared by the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum lent the services of Mr. E. A. Lane, of the Department of Ceramics, for the special study of the pottery; during the last fortnight we had also the help of Mr. A. F. Gott, who put into final form the architectural results of the excavations. To all of these I would express my indebtedness and my deep gratitude. Hamoudi of Jerablus was again foreman, together with his two sons, Yahia and Alawi, the former of whom did all the photography. Work began on 10th March, with 230 men.

On our arrival the house being built for the Expedition was not ready, and I am greatly indebted to Mr. C. W. MacEwan for the loan of the house at Tainat belonging to the Oriental Institute of Chicago; we moved into our own quarters on 20th March. I should like also to express my thanks to Mr. A. W. Davis, British Consul at Aleppo, to Mr. J. Catoni, British

Vice-consul at Alexandretta, and to Mr. A. J. Akras, pro-consul at Aleppo, for their help both in the house-building and in the negotiations with the landowner for the renting of the Atchana site.

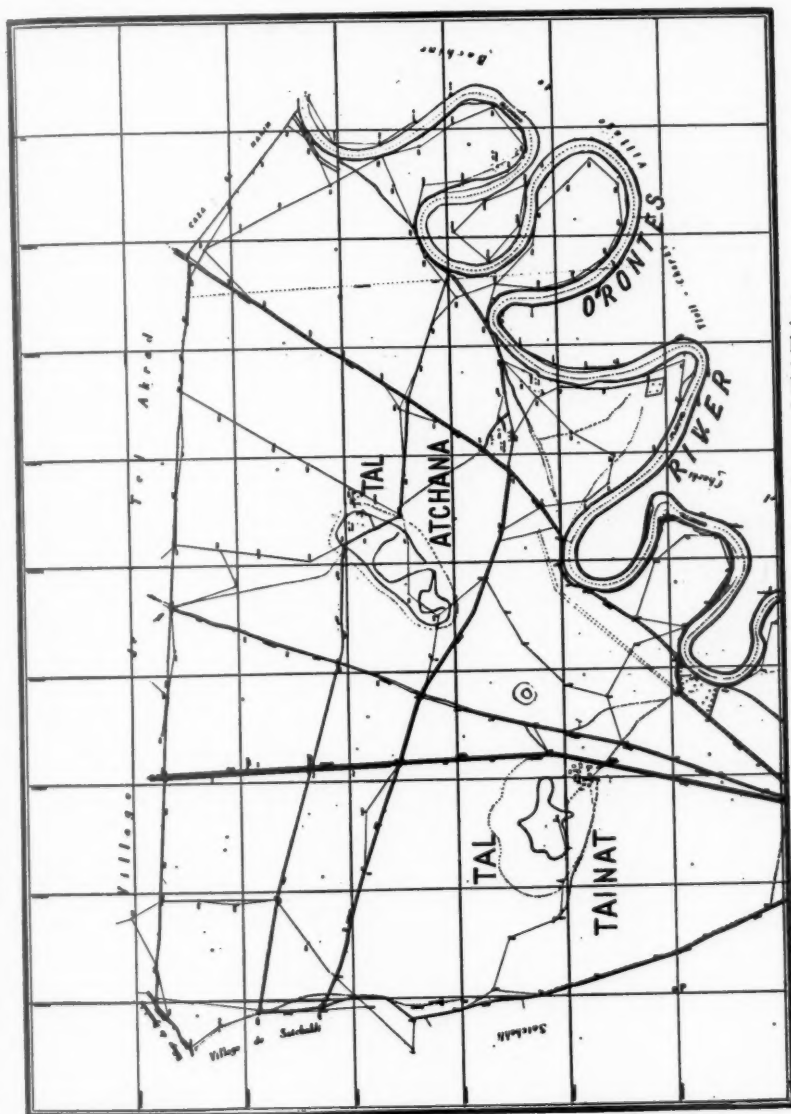
The mound of Atchana (or Marouche, for both names are used) (pl. 1) is an irregular oval 750 metres long and 325 metres wide, lying some 500 metres away from the river Orontes; our concession gives us the right to excavate the NW. half of the mound, which here rises to a height of 10.50 m. above the level of the surrounding plain. In 1936 two experimental trenches (A, E on plan, pl. 11) had been dug across the NW. end, more or less parallel to and not far from the steep slope of the NE. side of the *tell*, and for this season's work an area was chosen which was crossed by the second of the old trenches and extended to the SE. boundary of our concession.

Our first task was to cut long trenches (B, C, D on plan) to test the character of a deep hollow on the SW. side of the mound which it was proposed to use for the dumping of soil from the excavations; when those had shown that no important remains were to be expected in the low-lying ground it was possible to begin the clearance of the site proper.

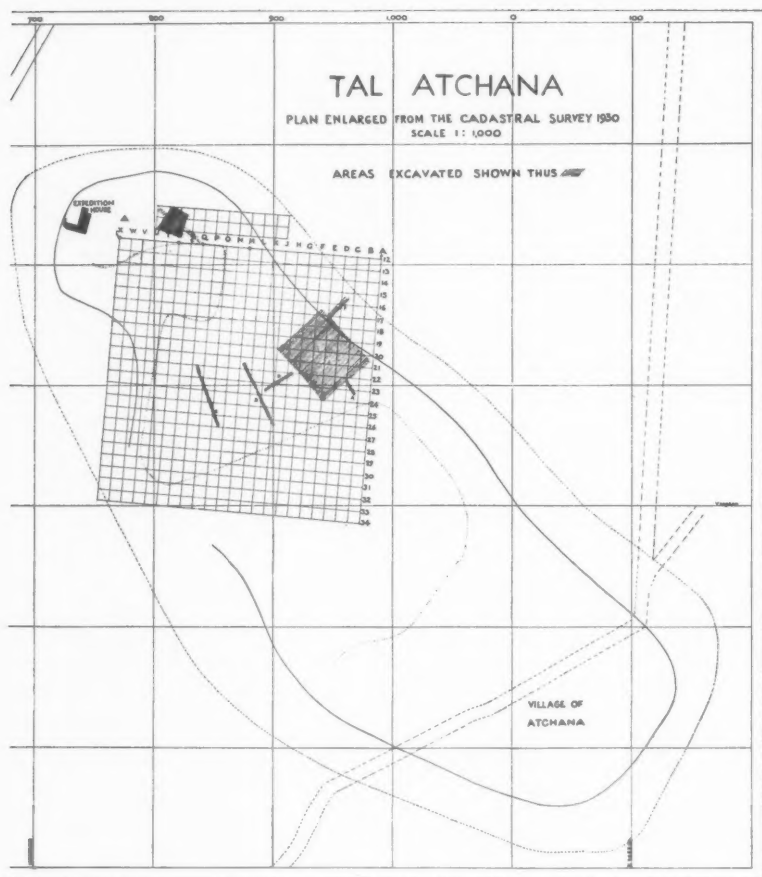
The site (A 20-H 20 on plan), measuring nearly 60 m. square, was dug down to an average depth of 4 m., by which time there had been brought to light buildings of four successive phases covering the period between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries B.C. Along the NE. boundary of the area ran an unbroken line of mud brickwork giving the inner face of the town wall. In order to investigate this a trench (F on plan) was cut running out from the main excavated area down the NE. slope of the *tell* and was carried far enough back into the mound to explain what was at this point the character of the city's defences. Towards the end of the season a second area, about 20 m. square (S-U, 9 and 10), was cleared to the fourth building level, i.e. to a depth of 4 metres.

The Main Site. Building Level I; plan, pl. 111

Almost immediately below the modern ground surface lay a building of which one small room had been cleared when our experimental trench was dug in 1936. It was a large house, well built, with walls of mud brick which generally rested on the stumps of the walls of an older building of much the same ground-plan. The floors were of beaten clay, the walls had been mud-plastered; both walls and floors were reddened by heat, for the



Part of Amk plain, showing Tal Atchana and Tal Tainat



house had been destroyed by fire, and much of the brickwork had been reduced almost to powder, so that it was difficult to distinguish the wall faces from the debris which filled the rooms; but on the whole the building was not ill preserved.

Its plan (pl. III) was interesting. The house stood on a street from which a recessed entrance led through a lobby (1) into an ante-chamber (2) which opened on to the main room of the house, a chamber measuring 9 m. by 3.80 m., against the NE. side of which were raised brick pedestals with hearths between them; two rooms on the SW. side seem to have been kitchens, as they contained a clay hearth and a bread-oven respectively; at the NW. end, the farthest from the entrance, there was a recess from which a long narrow passage, closed by a wooden door, ran SW. (the farther end of it was destroyed) and a very small door led to a second series of rooms occupying the NE. half of the block. The house was, in fact, divided into two parts, between which this little door in the recess afforded the only means of communication. The NE. part consisted of a large court with chambers on three sides opening on to it, and the room with the communicating door had a second door in its NW. wall which gave a separate entrance to this section of the building; so little was left of the walls that only two of the doors giving on to the court could be determined, but that there were at least three others corresponding to the various rooms is certain.

The courtyard plan of the NE. section presents the usual domestic arrangement of the Eastern house; the SW. section would seem to be not so much residential as intended for social functions; the big room 3, with its formal fixtures, might well be a public reception-room, and the kitchens opening on to it would serve for the entertainment of the guests; access to it is by the main door on the street,¹ and such accessibility contrasts with the sequestered approach to the domestic quarter. I do not know of any similar house-type elsewhere.

Of the building on the NE. side of the street little can be said. In so far as it was preserved at all it reproduced the lines of the older building below, its walls resting directly on the old brickwork, but there was not enough of it left to give an intelligible plan. The room in the north corner produced a number of heavy gold ingots, some of which had had bits snapped off them, and some small gold ear-rings; it was presumably a goldsmith's work-room.

¹ In the level I building this is destroyed, but it can safely be reconstructed by analogy with the building of level II of which level I is largely a reproduction; in level II the street door is a very marked feature.

The date of level I is most securely fixed by the imported Mycenaean vases found actually on the floors of the rooms; these (see pl. VIII, 1) are of a good L.M. III type, closely resembling examples found at Tell el Amarna, and dating from the first half of the fourteenth century B.C. The fact of these vases being found on the floors means that they were used by the last inhabitants of the building, and their date should therefore be the *terminus ante quem* for its occupation. A confirmation of this comes from another quarter. Our level I does not represent the ultimate phase in the history of the site. Its buildings have been much damaged by later interference; intrusive burials have been cut down into the walls and into the floors; store-jars sunk beneath the floors of later buildings stand above the floor-level of our period I; and a single short length of rubble wall-foundation, running at an angle at variance with that of all other walls and lying nearly a metre higher in the soil, is sufficient proof of occupation of the site after the destruction by fire of level I. Most of the intrusive graves are those of children and have little evidential value in themselves, and there is no accompanying pottery to give criteria for date, but three or four in house B were those of adults, simple inhumation-burials with the body laid on its side, the legs flexed, and the hands brought up in front of the breast; three were cremation-burials. The evidence of Ras Shamra and of Carchemish is conclusive to the effect that in north Syria cremation replaces inhumation early in the twelfth century B.C., and it is worth noting that the containing vessel of two of our cremation-burials, a large jug painted with plain red bands (pl. VI, 1), was exactly like urns from cremation-burials found at Ras Shamra. The fact that at Atchana both types of burial occur in the same level assigns that level to the period of transition from one practice to the other. One cremation-burial was accompanied by a Mycenaean vase of a form and texture typical of the latest phase of L.M. III, which would normally be assigned to the twelfth century; and numerous fragments of similar decadent Mycenaean ware were found loose in the surface soil. No later remains than these have been found on the site.¹

It follows that the mound of Atchana was deserted in, and probably early in, the twelfth century B.C., since which time it has been uninhabited—except, indeed, for the tiny Arab hamlet at its SW. end, beyond the limits of our concession and therefore of our

¹ The statement is broadly but not literally true. We found one sherd of fifth-century Attic pottery, the foot of a late Roman glass goblet, a piece of Arab glazed ware, c. thirteenth century, several Arab tobacco-pipes and a nineteenth-century Turkish coin. Such 'exceptions' only emphasize the general truth.

knowledge. The last period of occupation, from which no building remains worthy of the name survive, represents little more than a century and a half, starting, as it must do, with the burning of our level I buildings about the middle of the fourteenth century B.C., or at any rate before that century's close.

The argument has taken no account of what might be considered the most important evidence of all, namely the tablets; unfortunately they were found in conditions which did not allow of their being assigned with certainty to a particular level, and their dating value is therefore secondary. Thus no. AT 16, which according to Mr. Sidney Smith should be assigned to the Amarna period, was found actually above the ruins of the town wall, which was standing in the latest period, i.e. until about the end of the twelfth century B.C.; the tablet's position therefore had no bearing on its date; all that can be said is that, being of the early fourteenth century at the latest, it cannot belong to the latest occupation, and may belong either to the beginning of level I or to the end of level II. The other tablets were found in the surface soil; if they had not been internally dated it would have been most natural to assign them to level I or to the later period of occupation of which the walls have vanished; but since two are vocabularies closely resembling in form similar lists from Ras Shamra, not later than the twelfth century, and the signs, very carefully written, most closely resemble those on a tablet dated in the reign of Gul-ki-sar of the 'Sea-land' dynasty, whose exact date is uncertain but certainly much earlier than the twelfth century, the attribution to the latest phase is impossible. Considering the extent to which the buildings of level I had been destroyed, it is not impossible that a tablet should have belonged to the next level (II) and have worked its way up to the surface, but it is unlikely that all should have done so. On the whole the arguments are in favour of the documents belonging to our level I, and the assumption that they did so would do no violence to the other evidence.

Level I would in that case fall within the fourteenth century, and probably does not continue so late as that century's close, while its beginning may perhaps have overlapped the fifteenth century B.C. If the tablets really belong to level II, then level I would scarcely go back beyond 1400 B.C.

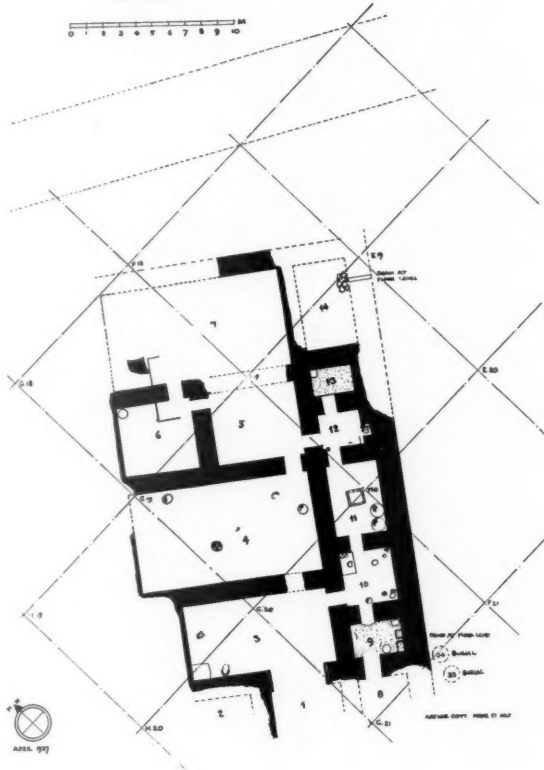
The level produced a fair number of small bronze tools and weapons, of which the most striking is a fine socketed spear-head, AT 7, pl. xvi, 3. The most important fact was that there was an entire absence of the painted pottery whose discovery was the chief event of our experimental digging in 1936; a few loose sherds

might occur in the upper soil, but their presence there was evidently due to disturbance, and in the rooms of the buildings nothing of the sort was found. So far as the evidence goes at present, we can say that by 1400 B.C. the 'Atchana' ware had passed out of use.

Building Level II; plan, pl. iv

The buildings lay about one metre below those of level I, and were very much better preserved. The walls were of mud brick, generally on limestone rubble foundations, and were mud-plastered; floors were in most cases of beaten clay; but occasionally there were floors of fine white cement laid either directly on the clay or on a course of baked tiles, and in such cases the plaster would be carried up the face of the wall as a skirting, usually over a band of tiles set on edge against the mud brickwork (see pl. vi, 2). Unfortunately the buildings were not well preserved; the stone foundations of the walls could generally be traced, but most of the mud brickwork had disappeared, and therefore such details as the position of doors could seldom be ascertained, and the plans lost in interest thereby. The excavated buildings lay on either side of a street which ran NE. by SW. and at its NE. end met a narrow lane—widening at intervals—shut in between the houses and the inner wall of the town defences. The principal building was a large house on the street's NW. side. It was entered by a door flanked by big half-columns of mud brick; the door was about in the middle of the block formed by the house, and led into what might be described as a corridor running the whole depth of the building, but divided by cross walls into three parts, a large entrance-hall (1), a smaller inner hall (2), and a complex which would seem to consist of a winding staircase (3) and a closet (4)—there were no steps preserved, but the two narrow passages set at right angles were not easily explained otherwise than as a staircase. To the NE. of the 'corridor' lay three rooms (5, 6, and 7), probably communicating; to the SW. there were four larger rooms (8-11) of which the doorways had disappeared, so that the manner of their connexion with the 'corridor' could not be established, but the character of the walls showed clearly that they all belonged to the same building. Farther to the NE. and the SW. walls more flimsily built must have belonged to independent buildings, small houses of less regular type; the NW. wall was sufficiently well preserved to prove that there were in it no doors communicating with the buildings in this direction. We have therefore the complete ground-plan of a single large house of the fifteenth century B.C.

TAL ATCHANA
LEVEL IV





ATP 40

ATP 37

1. Urns from late cremation-burials



2. Level II: House B, room 2, showing cemented floor and skirting

The buildings on the opposite side of the street are not so easy to understand; there is nothing of the regular and symmetrical arrangement of rooms that we see in the first house, and it would appear more likely that we have here small houses or even shops. Only one door opening on the street was found; there was at this point a breach in the wall and the NE. jamb had disappeared, but the existence of the doorway was made certain by the fact that south-west of the breach the wall had footings of burnt brick running through its thickness and proving that it ended here in a door-jamb. Immediately inside the door was the curious cemented area already referred to (see pl. VI, 2), which was the more curious because, while the floor sloped down to a large jar sunk in its eastern edge (implying that a liquid might be spilt here), the sloped floor came directly in front of a door which could only be reached by stepping across what was presumably a wet spot. It is natural to suppose that the cemented area and the basin-like jar-base were intended to serve some such purpose as the washing of the feet of people entering the house; but its position in front of the door to the farther room was none the less peculiar. It was unfortunate that the destruction of most of the walls had gone too far for the doorways in them to be traced, and the restoration of the building must therefore remain conjectural. Its SW. limit is shown by the greater thickness of the SW. wall of room 3, but whether or not the large court no. 8 belonged to it we could not say, though it is evident that it was constructionally independent. To the south-west of this house there is another, facing on the street (though the front door had disappeared), which consists of small rooms arranged round an open court (5). Its SE. limits are uncertain.

In level II the painted 'Atchana' pottery appeared and was relatively common. So far as our evidence goes at present it came into use very much earlier than this period, was then most in vogue, and ceased abruptly with the period's close. In the buildings of the time there were quite large areas in which not a single sherd of the ware was found by us, and this sporadic occurrence, together with the vast preponderance of other types of pottery and its own elaborate decoration, justify us in regarding it as a luxury product. House B produced in room 5 the magnificent vase ATP 230 illustrated on pl. IX, 2. House A had in its entrance-room (room 1) a number of good sherds, but otherwise, in spite of the richness of the building, hardly a single piece of Atchana pottery. The small and much ruined house B yielded nothing at all, and the same was true of house D. House C had a few good sherds in room 2 and a great number in room 1, all in the central

part of the room in front of the street door. The bulk of the pieces found by us (pls. ix-xi) on this level lay in the street in front of and between the doors of houses A and C. In this part of the street particularly and in rooms 1 and 2 of house C, there were found lying on the ground level quantities of bronze arrow-heads and a few clay sling-bolts;¹ there had obviously been a struggle here and the pottery bore clear witness to the fact that the houses had been sacked and their contents flung out into the street. Many of the walls of the period showed signs of fire. It is difficult not to connect the violent end of the buildings of our level II with the disappearance of the Atchana pottery after the close of the period. That particular class of the inhabitants of Atchana which indulged in this luxury ware—presumably a rich class—was eliminated, and the ware was no longer in vogue; on the other hand the imported Mycenaean and Aegean pottery, also an object of luxury, continued in use, and the continuity of tradition which this implies would seem to indicate that there was no change in the other elements of the Atchana population, but that the fighting of which we have evidence was part of an internal revolt against an unpopular and probably governing section.

Associated with the Atchana pottery were fragments of Cypriote 'milk-bowls' and a few sherds of Mycenaean pottery of L.M. II date, enough to show that Aegean connexions were maintained throughout the period. Of weapons other than spear- and arrow-heads one, a good socketed axe AT 8, pl. xvi, 3, is of Mesopotamian type, another, a dagger with inlaid wood in its handle, AT 57, pl. xvi, 3, has an almost exact parallel from Nineveh² and less close resemblance to examples from Greece. More important for its bearing on the character of the local civilization is a small lump of clay, used to seal a parcel, which bears the imprint of a *bull* seal inscribed with Hittite hieroglyphs; this was found on the surface of the street of level II. Another impression on clay of a stamp seal of definitely Hittite type (AT 142) and an actual seal roughly made of terra-cotta but bearing Hittite hieroglyphs (AT 141) were found in conditions which afforded no real dating evidence, but they must belong either to this period or to level I. The distinctive Atchana painted pottery has no parallel whatever in Hittite or Syro-Hittite art in so far as that is known to us,³

¹ The narrow cupboard-like room 5 of house C was full of baked clay sling-bolts and ballista-balls; the fact of the house having been something of an armoury would account for the hard fighting in its neighbourhood.

² Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 96. 10. A somewhat similar dagger has been found at Ras Shamra.

³ With the evidence of Carchemish, Sakje-geuzi, Tal Ahmar, and Hama we are here on fairly safe ground.



1. Hearths and Kitchen, room 3, in Level IV



2. Level IV: general view from doorway of room 3



ATP I 3

ATP III I

1. Imported Mycenaean vases



ATP 402

ATP 307

2. Imported Cypriote Bronze Age vases

but the local pottery contemporary with the Atchana ware, the bronzes, and especially the inscriptions on the seals, bring the site definitely within the orbit of Hittite civilization, and the discrepancy between the two only emphasizes the fact that there were cultural differences between different elements in the population of the city.

Building Level III; plan, pl. iv

The buildings of level II were found to be largely a reproduction of older and underlying buildings which form level III. The later walls rested for the most part on the stumps of the earlier and followed their lines very closely. The only real difference came at the NE. end of our area, near the town wall; the town wall itself was not the same (*v. infra*) and the street, instead of leading up to a lane along the inner face of the wall, was blocked by buildings which lay right across its line. The level had been too much destroyed by the construction of the later level for any coherent plan of it to be made, but the scanty evidence at our disposal did seem to point to a more elaborate style of building, for in the small area at the NE. end of the lane there were no less than three examples of cement pavements: one, of intermediate date, underlying the street itself, one under room 10 of house C, and one under room 2 of house B. Stone-lined post-holes in sqq. B 19, B 20, had no parallel in the later buildings; but although it was tempting to see in them evidence for a hall with a central group of four columns, more or less of the *megaron* type, there is no real justification for doing so. In this NE. area the finding in position against a store-jar of the lower part of a painted Atchana goblet proved the currency of the ware in the third period; the levels II and III lay so close together that where the upper floor surface had disappeared it was often difficult to be sure that scattered sherds belonged to the lower, and the conclusive evidence of this particular fragment was welcome. The fragment in question (ATP 256-61, pl. xi, 12) bore a design of formalized type executed in cream-colour on a red ground; while it is less sophisticated than the splendid papyrus-design which appears on goblets from level II it illustrates an art which already in level III was fully developed. The fact is of importance. The commonest motive on the Atchana pottery is the rosette, cf. pls. x and xi. The rosette is very common on Cretan pottery, but goblets precisely similar to ours (and the goblet is not a Cretan form) have been found as far west as Nuzi and Tal Billa,¹ and fragments also

¹ E. A. Speiser, 'The Pottery of Tell Billa', *Museum Journal* (Philadelphia), vol. xxiii, 3, pl. lxi.

occur on the Habur, at Tal Brak, and in the neighbourhood of Chagar Bazar;¹ on these sites the evidence of tablets and of pottery of other types would date the ware between 1600 and 1400 B.C. and would seem to justify its being described as 'Hurrian'. On these sites there occur also examples of the bird motive which we have in ATP 283 and other fragments (cp. *J.H.S.*, vol. lvi, pl. viii), and as Sir Arthur Evans has pointed out (*loc. cit.*) bird and animal motives are entirely alien to Minoan ceramic art. So far as these designs are concerned the pottery might be classed as 'Hurrian', with strong affinities to the (later) Assyrian wares, and the Cretan partiality for the rosette motive might be disregarded. But neither the Tigris nor the Habur sites have produced anything at all resembling the elaborate designs such as we have on ATP 3, etc., wherein relations with Minoan Crete seem so strongly indicated. So far as our present knowledge goes these are peculiar to the area which is geographically nearest to Crete; Chatal Hüyük has produced one example² and at Atchana it is common; moreover, the whole scheme of painting in white on a dark background, which characterizes the Hurrian-Atchana pottery, is typical of Crete in the Middle Minoan period, and appears to have no parallel in any other pottery produced at any time in Hither Asia. The fact that the Amk pottery, while obviously akin to that found farther east, offers at the same time analogies with Crete which elsewhere are tenuous or lacking, justifies us in giving to it the distinctive title of 'Atchana ware'. We are not yet in a position to explain those analogies; all that we can say at present is that they go back as far as the sixteenth century B.C. Perhaps from our as yet scanty evidence we can deduce a gradual elaboration of design together with a growing restriction of the motives of which the design is composed. Certainly in the latest phase there was actual repetition; in level II quite a number of the vessels found were in pairs, as, for instance, ATP 1 and ATP 342 on pl. x; such vases were made in sets or even in services, and the production of duplicates where the design is so complicated can scarcely but be a mark of a commercialized art.

Building Level IV; plan, pl. v

Excavation below level III on the SE. side of the street produced no wall remains³ nor any regular stratification of the soil,

¹ *Iraq*, III, part i, fig. 27, no. 20, for one Chagar Bazar fragment; for other information regarding the Habur finds I am indebted to Mr. M. E. L. Mallowan.

² McEwan, *Syrian Expedition*, back cover.

³ That is, immediately below level III; of course there are remains of older buildings in deeper levels to which we have not yet dug down.



ATP 3

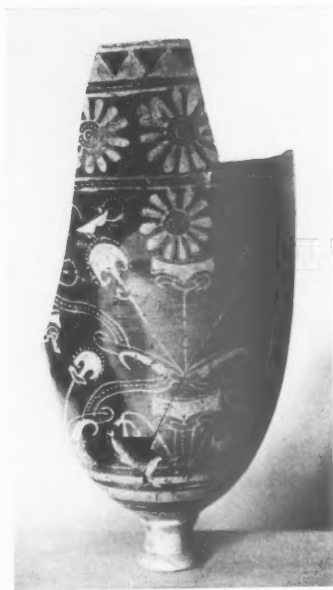


ATP 230

'Atchana' painted pottery



ATP 342



ATP I

'Atchana' painted pottery

but on the NW. side part of an important building was brought to light. It lay 1.60 m. below the floor of house A in level II, about one metre below the (destroyed) floor-level of level III. While much of it had suffered severely, even the foundations of its walls having disappeared, some parts of it were well preserved, the walls standing to a height of 0.60 or 0.70 m. and the contents of the rooms remaining in position.

What we found was the central part of the SE. half of a very large house. The SW. end had completely gone; the NE. end, which may well have been the front of the building, was also lost; its NW. part lay beyond the limits of our excavated area but may yet await discovery. The walls were of mud brick on rubble foundations; the plan showed a range of small rooms along the SE. side flanking a series of much larger rooms, the two together giving perhaps half the width of the whole building.

At the SW. end a single wall, of which only one face was preserved for a short distance, proved that the building had continued in this direction; beyond the ruined wall, to the north-east, there seems to have been a room (2) with a floor at a higher level than that of the rest of the rooms; the floor itself had disappeared, but below it there were several simple inhumation-graves which appeared to be contemporary with the building; with the bodies were beads and a few clay pots, amongst which were examples in light clay of a type found at Carchemish in graves of the early part of the second millennium B.C. (pl. xvi, 2, b).

The first room of which the plan was recovered (room 3, pl. vii, 1, 2) had an entrance 3.30 m. wide flanked by basalt orthostats—the first example we had encountered on the site of this characteristically Hittite feature. It was apparently a kitchen, for in its west corner there was a large built fire-place, and a smaller hearth stood against the SW. wall; a three-legged basalt mortar lying on the floor in front of the fireplace emphasized the domestic character of the room which was simply mud-floored and had its walls mud-plastered, both walls and floor showing marked traces of burning, and the latter being thickly spread with wood ash. Originally the room had had no direct access to room 4, but at some time or other an entrance had been cut through the NE. wall; the ashes filling the gap to floor level showed that the breach antedated the destruction of the building and that the cut, although not very well done, was a real doorway. Room 4, mud-plastered and mud-floored, presented no special features of interest; it was littered with broken clay vessels all of local manufacture and mostly of a plain domestic type, including large store-jars; the fragments were in some cases widely scattered and it seemed that either the

pots had been intentionally flung about or they had fallen from some height. Rooms 5 and 6 were much ruined; the NE. wall of room 5 had virtually disappeared and those of room 6 stood little above floor-level; both were strewn with pottery, mostly fragments of large store-jars and open platters, but against the NW. wall of room 5 there were found lying on the floor and under the bed of ashes which covered it some small pieces (ATP 415-16) of Atchana painted ware. Fragments of similar ware (ATP 282, ATP design as pl. x, and ATP 397-8) had been found in the burnt debris above rooms 1 and 8, but since they lay above floor level they did not afford absolutely conclusive proof of the use of the Atchana pottery in the period of our fourth building level; but the fragments in room 5 were enough to make it certain that the ware was already then in use.

In the doorway from room 5 to room 12 the impress of the timber door-frame was particularly well preserved on the jambs, and against the angle of the NE. jamb was found the swirl-pin, neatly made of black steatite, with which the door had been secured.

Room 7 was almost completely destroyed; its northern part was not excavated by us, but of the SE. wall the line of mud bricks could scarcely be traced, and of the NE. wall there remained only a patch of rubble foundations; the floor had gone altogether.¹ The existence of room 8 could be deduced from the general plan of the building, but of its walls no trace could be distinguished, everything having been cut away to lay the deep-set foundations of a wall of building level III. Room 9 was, on the other hand, well preserved. The floor and the lower part of the walls at least were covered with a fine white plaster; in the east corner there was a round depression in which a clay pot had been set, and against the SE. wall were two rectangular compartments with raised plaster edges, between which the floor sloped down to the mouth of a drain made of terra-cotta pipes, which ran out through the thickness of the wall into the street which skirted the building. A large jar stood against the SW. wall and all the floor was littered with clay vessels mostly of local fabric, but two, a milk-bowl and a base-ring jug, of Cypriote manufacture. In the room, and in its SW. doorway, were found the two halves of a curious object in burnished brown clay—a long tube stoppered at one end and at the other modelled into the form of a human hand holding a small cup (pl. xvii, 1, AT 226). From Syria there are known quite a number of examples of steatite carvings of the hand holding the

¹ Beneath the floor of rooms 6 and 7 there came to light the NW. wall of a room belonging to an earlier building whose floor lay about 0.50 m. lower down.

cup with a hole running from the cup through the 'wrist', the latter being turned to fit into a prolongation in some other material;¹ they have been variously explained as incense-burners (a theory not consistent with the effects of heat on steatite) and libation-pourers; full-length examples in burnished red clay, precisely like ours from Atchana, have been found in Bronze Age tombs in Cyprus² and are correctly described as non-Cypriote. Having the complete object we can describe it without any hesitation as a libation-vase.

Room 10 was clay-floored and had had in its north corner a plaster-faced raised bench or stand; the pottery here lay thick all over the room. Room 11 also had a clay floor in the middle of which was a rectangular compartment, its base slightly sunk below floor level, its edge raised and formed of terra-cotta tiles set on edge and covered with a rounded clay fillet; it suggested that the room had been used for the storage and decanting of some liquid which might otherwise have made a mess over the floor. Two very large store-jars, their bases sunk in the floor, stood in the south corner, and there were fragments of a third, smaller, standing on the floor between the 'decanting-compartment' and the SE. wall; one of the large jars contained wheat, and there were found in it some beads which must have been dropped there by accident.

Room 12 was clay-floored, and on the floor, against the NW. jamb of the door from room 11, stood a basalt three-legged mortar which may have been re-used as a hinge-socket for the door, but was perhaps merely by chance in the right position for a door-socket; no stone sockets were found in any of the other doorways in the building. In the SE. wall there was a small cupboard contrived in the wall's thickness in which were several miniature clay vases; clay vases, including a fine Cypriote milk-bowl, were numerous, and in the doorway to room 13 was a second complete example in burnished red clay of the long Hittite libation-pourer (AT 225). Room 14 was remarkable in that its floor was of real concrete made with small black pebbles, its surface smoothly floated. Beyond it the building was completely ruined, the SE. wall had disappeared altogether and so had the NE. wall and the inner face of the NW. wall; all that remained was a terra-cotta drain, exactly like that in room 9, which had run under the foundations of the SE. wall. It was impossible to say whether this was the last room of the range or whether the building had continued farther to the north-east; a deep shaft sunk by us just beyond the

¹ Sometimes instead of the hand the under side of the cup is decorated with an elaborate palmette design; *Syria*, vol. xi, pl. xxiv.

² Cf. *British Museum Catalogue* A 32, A 51.

fragmentary NE. wall of room 7 failed to discover any traces of building at this level.

It is clear that this very large and important building, whose domestic quarters have been found, must be assigned to the sixteenth century B.C. In the first place the fifteenth century is fully accounted for by our building-levels II and III, in the second place the imported Cypriote pottery requires some such date; the 'milk-bowls' are early examples of the type and the 'base-ring' vessels (see pl. VIII, 2) belong to the middle part and not to the latter end of the island Bronze Age culture; the date, arrived at in the case of this building by such arguments, was confirmed for the whole level to which it belongs by the discoveries made in the 'Palace' (see below, p. 27).

THE TOWN WALL (pl. XII)

It has been stated that the street which crosses our excavated area in levels I and II ran up to an open space or lane on the north-east, which lay against the face of the town wall. The latter can now be described in relation to the buildings of different periods inside the town. It should, however, be stated at the outset that the name 'town wall' is probably a misnomer. No excavation has been done on the low ground round the *tell*, and our proved knowledge, therefore, is limited to the mound itself; for our present purposes that is 'the town' and its defences can be called 'the town wall'. But it is more than likely that the mound is only the acropolis lying within and dominating a 'lower town' of much greater area. To the NE. of the mound, and at about 300 m. from its foot, there can in certain lights be seen a low ridge more or less parallel to the flank of the *tell* which might well be the ruins of an outer wall; actually building-remains just inside the line of the ridge have been reported to me by the farmers, and quantities of sherds brought in from this low-lying ground prove that it was once occupied. To the south-west of the mound, in the direction of Marouche village, there are also traces of occupation, and a small cuneiform tablet (AT 75) was found on the surface here, and although in this direction it has not yet been possible to trace any indications of an enclosing wall-ridge the disappearance of anything of the sort is easily explained by the constant ploughing of the soil during many centuries. If the mound was indeed the acropolis and the town proper lay below it, the fact would account for the enormous strength of the former's defences and for the sacrifice made on their account of so considerable a proportion of the mound's area.



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11



12

K. E. W.

'Atchana' painted ware
Reconstructed drawings

To the north-east of the houses on the *tell* we found an unbroken line of mud-brick wall, which we followed for a distance of more than 45 m., tracing its frontage and laying bare its flat top. At the SE. end it was much ruined, and here we found below it the remains of other very solid walls, clearly parts of an earlier system of fortification; for the SE. half of its length there had been added to it a revetment of mud brick 1.20 m. thick, an addition probably made necessary by the decay of the face of the old work. The wall itself had been reduced by the action of weather and the plough to some eight courses of mud brick; the top of it, fairly level, lay just below the surface at the depth reached by the plough-share. It measures 4.80 m. in width. Along its outer face there ran a cobbled path 1.40 m. wide, the cobbles bedded in stiff red clay. Beyond this, on the line of our trench F, two mud bricks were found *in situ* against and flush with the path, but otherwise the edge of the path marked the edge of the underlying clay also and there was a drop and, to the depth to which our digging here went, a filling of light ashes only. After 1.50 m. the ashes were replaced by red clay whereon were scanty traces of mud brick; this continued for 1.50 m. and then broke away and gave place to ashes thinly and vaguely stratified with clay and other more solid rubbish, going down at first for 2.20 m. and then, with the next step in our trench, to a total of 4.25 m., when we encountered a hard and level floor in which silos or grain-pits, neatly made and lined with white cement, had been cut to a considerable depth. In digging this part of the trench we cut through an L-shaped mass of clay resting on the lightly stratified ashes which can be distinguished (between the 10 m. and the 15 m. verticals) on the section on pl. XII. From just above the L-shaped mass of clay a belt of mud-brick debris runs downhill at an angle of about thirty-five degrees; above it is the made soil of the mound's surface, below it the ashes already described; but between the ashes and the brick rubble there can be seen a very thin stratum of red clay which thickens as it goes down the slopes until, at the limits of our trench, it was half a metre thick. Just beyond the outermost silo the hard floor in which it was cut begins to run almost as steeply downhill. The stratification is here very clear. The black surface soil, gradually thickening towards the foot of the slope, is quite distinct from the grey brick earth below; the top stratum is, of course, agricultural soil in part due to the decay of plants growing on the slope, in part brought down by water action from the mound's top; the grey is the decomposed brick of the great walls which in antiquity crowned the slope. The red clay band, fairly smooth above but

less well marked below, stands out from the grey and from the mixed unstratified mass of black ash and broken pottery below it; the latter is no less clearly differentiated from the lower slope, which consists of clay, rubbish, and a certain amount of ashes horizontally stratified, the strata occasionally dipping or forming pockets, and always tending to drop as they approach the surface of the slope. As regards the contents of the various strata, that of grey brick earth is practically clean; the ash stratum contains a very great deal of broken pottery, much of it painted. Amongst these wares there is no Atchana pottery and none of the coarser banded ware which we find distributed over all the four periods represented on the town site and can recognize as the characteristic local ware of those periods; there were a few instances of the red burnished slip common in level IV, and one or two sherds of Cypriote milk-bowls. Most of the painted vessels are of bowl form and the decoration, in red or black paint, is usually simple and geometric, with an occasional use of bird or animal motives, arranged in bands; in the town site only a very few sherds of such ware have been found, in or under building level IV. In the underlying rubbish formation, below the ash deposit, pottery is again abundant and is of much the same type; the main distinction is the presence of a few examples of jugs with fairly ornate band decoration and, sometimes, a trefoil mouth decorated on each side with a human eye; representative examples of these and of the bowls are given on pl. xvii, 3. There was no Cypriote ware. Of the unpainted wares the larger bowls with carinated rim often had two or more pairs of vertical elongated bosses applied to the shoulder, one had a horizontal 'tied' handle; the jugs (in this and in the ash stratum) sometimes had handles formed of twisted reeds of clay; one spouted jar occurred. Very numerous are fragments of large store-jars, wide-mouthed, rather like a squat Greek *pithos*, with grooves round the upper surface of the lip and a decoration on the body of widely spaced bands of 3 or 4 incised lines, or of bands in relief thumbbed to resemble a rope binding.

Such are the facts given by our deep cut in the mound's slope; the explanation of them is not difficult.

At the bottom we have an old system of fortification, a flat-topped embankment rising some four metres above the present level of the plain but, since the plain has risen at least two metres, originally much higher; it is artificially constructed with rubbish, ashes, pottery, and debris of every sort collected from an already occupied site, the mixed materials giving the banded stratification described above and shown in the section on pl. xii. The flat top runs back for an unknown distance, and there must have been

a second rise (not reached by our cut) at least to the level of the town platform and probably to a greater height. The fact that grain-pits were sunk in the flat top means that this was included in the outer line of defence, and since one of the pits is very close to the lip of the embankment, too close to allow of a wall having run along it, we may fairly suppose a wooden palisade at the very edge of the slope; the defenders would hold this as long as possible, but if hard pressed could fall back on the inner—and presumably stronger—line afforded by the second rise.

This double embankment seems to have been more or less provisional; at any rate it was abandoned in favour of a different system, and, as is shown by the relatively small change in the pottery above and below the face of the original *glacis*, there was between the two systems no very great interval of time. The object of the change was to obtain a single rise with a broad top affording space for a more elaborate and a more massive town wall; its method was, while keeping to the same frontage, to heap up more material, obliterating the step in the old rampart so as to have a wide and uniform embankment. The material was again rubbish collected from the old town,¹ the ashes from old fires, and the broken pottery from its middens; a steeper gradient was calculated to add to the difficulty of approach. But the builders, taking their material whence they could, here found themselves betrayed by its nature. The ash was so light that, steeply sloped as it was, it would have been soon carried away by wind and rain, and it was the worst possible foundation for the city wall. They therefore plastered the face of the slope with a thin layer of stiff clay;² it is a shift similar to that employed by the (north Syrian) Hyksos builders of Tell el Yahudia in Egypt, who made good their embankment of loose desert sand with a thin coating of lime plaster; and since the danger was greatest at the top, where the edge of the narrow berm would be washed away by water coming from the wall face, they inserted here the L-shaped belt of clay that marks the angle between the slope and the flat ground.

The existing wall is not that for which the mound was thus raised; as has been stated already, there are below it remains of

¹ At the point chosen for our trench this rubbish took the form of pure ashes. It is not to be supposed that this would be the case round the whole circuit, and we were fortunate in hitting upon a spot where the uniform character of the later filling made the distinction between the two works so very obvious.

² This would be quite effective and could easily be renewed when, as would necessarily occur, it gradually got washed down the slope. Actually it cannot be traced on the top third of the embankment, then becomes clear, and thickens as it goes downhill; see the section on pl. XII.

an earlier wall about which we know very little at present, but we can provisionally at least assume that it was contemporary with the earth-work. About the later wall we can speak with some certainty.

Its builders realized that the heaped ashes of the rampart formed a most unsatisfactory wall-foundation—any mass of brick-work set close to its edge was liable to slip downhill. Accordingly at a distance of 1.80 m. from the lip of the mound they dug a trench two and a quarter metres deep and one and a half metres wide, which they then filled with stiff clay; this formed the foundation of the outer half of the outer town wall, a mud-brick wall, 3 m. wide, whose inner half rested directly on the ashes; as has been stated, two bricks of its bottom course were found *in situ* against the cobbled pavement, and bricks were also found resting on the clay. The narrow cobbled pavement separated the outer wall from the inner, which was 4.80 m. wide. There is nothing to show whether it is the floor of an open passage or whether the passage was roofed; probably it was open, with bridges at intervals across it, enabling the defenders to man the outer work; then, if that were captured, the bridges could be cut and the enemy would be trapped in a narrow space at the foot of the main wall, exposed to a shower of darts and stones launched from directly above their heads.¹

A revetment was subsequently added against the inner face of the inner wall from a point opposite the debouchment of the street excavated by us to the south-east of the area; to the north-west the old face of the wall was retained and a cobbled pavement was laid between it and the houses. The level of the foundations shows that the revetment was built in our period I, perhaps a little while before the reconstruction of the house (building level I); between it and the wall face was found the fine dagger (AT 57), which must therefore belong to period II.²

The main wall must be associated with our building level II. The level of its foundation agrees with this, and it is altogether in keeping with the fact that in our northern excavation (see

¹ The arrangement of the double wall at Atchana might be compared with that at Sinjirli.

² The revetment foundations went down to a surface of beaten clay and sand 0.80 m. below the cobble floor; the house foundations were 0.35 m. higher than this, too low to be strictly contemporary with the cobble floor and probably corresponding to an intermediate surface. The foundations of the town wall revetment would naturally be laid deeper than those of a private house, and it is also to be remembered that the house walls rested on the stumps of the walls of the earlier building on the same site, and their depth would depend on the height to which those stumps were standing.

below) the second period is represented by just such massive construction in mud brick. Corresponding in level to our building level III on the main site are the remains of an earlier system of fortification unearthed at the SE. corner of our area (see the section, pl. xii), but it must be admitted that levels are not in this case conclusive evidence, for it is more than possible that the earth rampart stood higher than the town platform inside it, and that therefore the foundations of the town wall lay higher than those of contemporary houses; our earlier fortification might belong to the Hittite Fourth Period. The strongest evidence that we have at present¹ is that of the pottery mixed with the ashes, etc., in the rampart. It has already been said that the sherds in the ash stratum are on the whole closely akin to those in the older rubbish forming the original rampart, so much so, indeed, that the time-gap between the two constructions must be short. The exception is that in the ash stratum there occurred two or three examples of Cypriote milk-bowls, which were not found in the old rampart, and that in the ash stratum also there were fragments of small jars of very light, almost white, clay of a shape resembling that of certain 'Middle Hittite' vases from Carchemish;² they are not found in the old rampart, but they do appear in the inhumation graves of the fourth level inside the town, just as the milk-bowls appear in the buildings of the fourth level. There is therefore a link between the later 'wall' pottery and that of level IV, but it is a tenuous link at best; of the painted wares which specially characterize the pottery deposits in the rampart a few sherds have been found at or below the fourth-level buildings, but in circumstances which seem to show that they are definitely earlier than the fourth level. According to this, the Hittites of the fourth level were not the builders of the earth ramparts and they were not responsible for the raising of that rampart by means of the ash stratum; they would seem to have inherited the earth-work defences of the town from an earlier generation, though not perhaps from any very remote past.

A valuable parallel to this is given by results from Chatal Hüyük in the Ankk plain;³ there the sixth period, as distinguished in a stepped trench cut into the side of the *tell*, is characterized by Cypriote milk-bowls and ring-base jugs and is dated between

¹ A single cross-section cannot be held to have settled the whole question; a further study of the wall at other points is necessary, and any conclusions reached at this stage are provisional only.

² Cf. *Carchemish*, ii, pl. 27; the vases there belong to the first half of the second millennium B.C.; cf. that on pl. xvi, 2, b.

³ C. W. McEwan, *Syrian Expedition of the Oriental Institute*.

1200 and 1600 B.C., i.e. goes back approximately to the time of our fourth level. The seventh period shows by its cylinder seals Hurrian influences and is dated 1600–1800 B.C.; the eighth period produces painted bowls exactly like those from our upper rampart and is dated 1800–2000 B.C. This chronology agrees very well with our tentative classification at Atchana, whereby the rampart is older, though not necessarily much older, than the buildings of the fourth level.

THE PALACE SITE

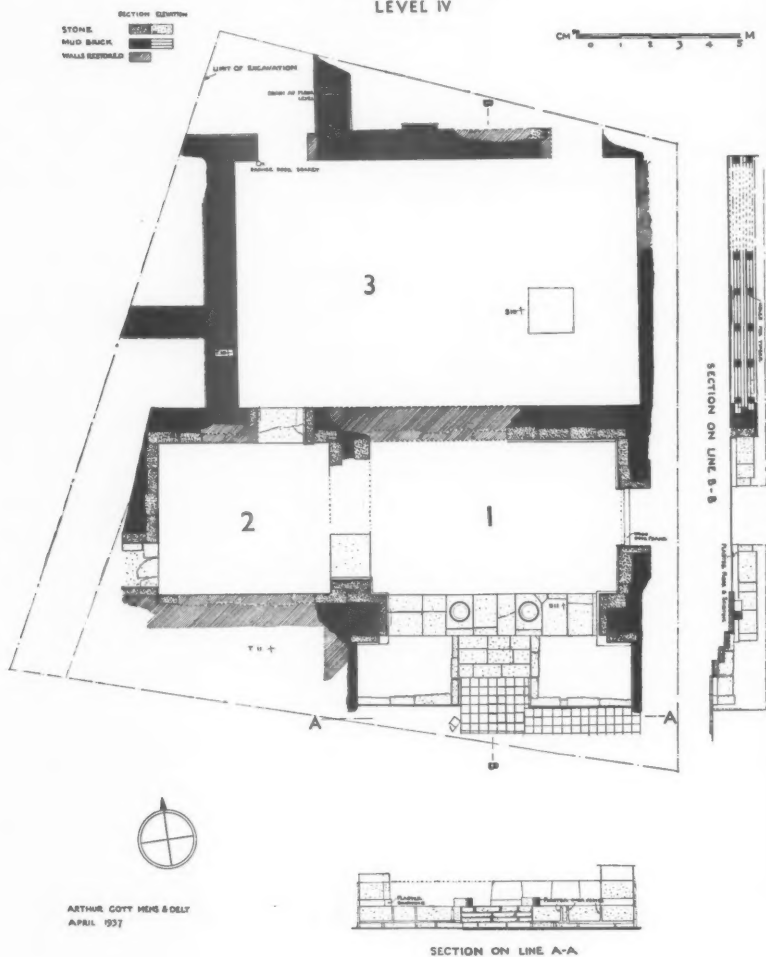
Towards the close of the season work was begun on a fresh site on the high ground towards the NW. end of the *tell*; it was advisable to check by independent evidence the conclusions we had arrived at as a result of our main excavation, and the area chosen was almost certainly one containing buildings of importance. It was gratifying to find that the stratification and the chronological evidence agreed very well with that of the area first excavated, and in the fourth level we came upon the ruins of what must be the principal building of the ancient town.

In the upper soil we encountered fairly numerous sherds of late Mycenaean pottery, but here, as on the other site, there were left no standing walls of that age. All that could be assigned to a date subsequent to the twelfth century B.C. were three drains of burnt brick, two of which communicated with circular brick-lined sump-pits sunk deep into the lower levels.¹ A very rough and apparently circular rubble foundation, part of which was exposed in the NE. corner of our shaft, may be of the same late Mycenaean period; it lay somewhat lower than the drains, so in any case would have been a sub-soil foundation only, but it might equally well belong to some intermediate phase coming after the destruction of the buildings of level I but before the construction of the houses served by the drains.

The first real building encountered corresponded to our level I on the main site; it consisted (plan, pl. XIII) of a wall of boulders and limestone rubble 2 m. thick and three courses high; what the superstructure had been there was nothing to show, but probably it had been in mud brick. Mycenaean pottery of good fourteenth-century types afforded satisfactory evidence for the date. The building had been a good deal denuded by modern searchers for stone—there is no stone in the Amk plain and ancient ruins are regularly

¹ I was at first in some doubt as to the date of the pit in sq. s. 10, but it is certain that the longer drain did empty into it, though the connexion is now lost. The drains are not cut through by the stone wall, as might appear from the ground-plan, but lie at a higher level.

TAL ATCHANA
LEVEL IV



plundered for building-material when they are brought to light by the plough; moreover, the area excavated by us was too small for its character to be ascertained. The solidity of the walls would point to the building's having been of a public or military nature, as does its scale also, for it will be noticed that the principal wall stretch, although broken at its NE. end, has a length of 18 m. but shows no inside walls at all, so that it would seem to be the enclosing wall of a very large courtyard or perhaps of a fort. The probability that it is connected with the system of town defence is very much strengthened by the fact that it lies over and replaces, with differences, an older building whose military character can scarcely be doubted.

This is a wall of mud brick resting in part (but not entirely) on foundations of rough rubble, running NE. by SW.; it was 3.90 m. thick; on its SE. face was a rectangular buttress 5 by 3.80 m., apparently one of a series of buttresses set 7.50 m. apart;¹ almost corresponding to this is a wall which abuts on the first and runs north-east for a distance of nearly 11 m. and then turns north-east; it is 4.80 m. thick. This enormously solid construction with external buttresses must be a work of defence, part of the same system as the 4.80 m. wall girdling the *tell*; probably there was here, in the corner of the enclosure, a castle or keep of which we have the SE. wall. That the building was in use at the same time as the town wall is proved by the pottery, for sherds of the Atchana ware were numerous against the wall face from the level to which it is preserved downwards to where we could distinguish remains of a mud-brick floor. But in its origin it was older. The walls go down below the mud-brick floor so deeply that their rubble foundations cut into the floors of level IV, and connected with them is a second series of clay floors lying 0.80 m. below those of mud brick; the construction therefore must date from the time of our level III, and the walls were re-used, with floors at a higher level, in the level II period.

With level IV there was a complete change of plan. The walls run at an entirely different angle, the character of the building is different, and the methods and materials of construction are unlike those of the higher levels: the builders of the simple and massive keep had laid their foundations over the ruins of a spacious and elaborate palace of older date. What we have excavated in the short time at our disposal is, of course, but a small part of the building, but it is enough to prove that the whole was very large and very magnificent (plan, pl. XIV).

¹ There seems to be the start of one against the SW. limit of the excavation; to the NE. work has not gone far enough to produce evidence on the point.

At the extreme south end of the excavated area, towards the SE. corner, there is (pl. xv, 2) a sunken court partly floored with beaten clay, partly paved with square terra-cotta tiles; fronting on this is the entrance-hall of the building (1). The room is floored with clay, hard pressed and quite smooth. The walls were of mud brick, but the lower part is masked by a dado of polished basalt slabs 0.72 m. high, resting on a course of limestone blocks which protrudes slightly beyond the face of the slabs and is covered by a chamfered skirting of polished white cement 0.20 m. high and a little more than 0.05 m. wide. The wall facing of skirting and dado is preserved for the whole of the east end, along about half of the north side and in the NW. and SW. corners; the west half of the north side and most of the west side have been destroyed by the foundations of the great third-level wall, which cut diagonally across the room and incidentally destroyed the clay floor of the NW. part of it. None of the wall face above the orthostats remains; the core, as has been said, was of mud brick, and along the top of the orthostats there can be seen traces of a horizontal wooden beam; but whether a half-timber construction was carried up to the height of the chamber cannot be proved. Against the remaining part of the north wall there lay in the debris at its foot several heavy beams which appeared to have been fixed together at right angles so as to form a rectangular framework, and it is likely, but not certain, that they come from the wall and that the latter was panelled. With the timbers were found fragments of mud plaster painted in *tempera* with red, blue, and white, and these colours may be the original filling of the panels; but it is also possible that the fragments are fallen here from the second story¹ and formed the interior decoration of an upper room; and it is equally possible that the timbers are from the floor of such a room. That there was an upper story seems to be conclusively proved by our finding scattered about the floor in the undisturbed part of the room, i.e. along the north and east walls and also along the south side, quantities of large lumps of thick concrete faced on the top with smoothly floated cement, precisely the same flooring material as was found in the ground-floor room 14 in the fourth-level building on our main site. It is this fact that makes it impossible to assert, what would otherwise have been the obvious conclusion, that the walls of the entrance-court above the basalt orthostats were half-timbered, with a wooden framework enclosing panels painted in different colours.

In the middle of the east wall was a doorway leading into a

¹ Perhaps from a room above the chamber to the east, perhaps from above the entrance-hall.

chamber not yet excavated. The threshold was of rubble originally plastered; in front of it was a narrow trough which had held the wooden sill, and on the basalt door-jambs could be seen the marks left by the wooden door-frame; white cement had been used to mask the joint between wood and stone. In the west wall, close to its south corner, there was a door-jamb formed of a single basalt slab of unusual size, 1.27 m. long by 1.06 m. high, and in front of this was a basalt threshold; the corresponding north jamb had disappeared. That this was an ordinary door and not a wider opening such as we have on the south side of the room is proved by the measurements;¹ that it should not be central to the wall, like the east door, is curious, but is none the less true.

The most remarkable feature of the room was its south side (pl. xv, 2). From each angle projects a buttress or jamb faced with a basalt orthostat, there is a reveal at the outer corner, and the basalt dado is carried on beyond this to the return of the wall. Between the two jambs stretches a slightly raised sill, 1.40 m. wide, of large limestone slabs, and equidistant from them, set 1.65 m. apart, there are two plain circular column-bases of polished basalt, 0.70 m. in diameter at the base (they are very slightly conical) and 0.25 m. high; on the top of each is visible the mark² of a wooden column having a diameter of 0.45 m. From the outer edge of the sill there descends a flight of three steps ending at the brick pavement of the sunken court (1); the flight is 2.40 m. wide, the basalt treads are 0.45 m. to 0.50 m. deep and 0.175 m. high (the total drop is therefore 0.70 m.); flanking the stairs are basalt orthostats which continue beyond stair foot and then return to the side walls so as to enclose two platforms whose flat tops, floored with clay and originally plaster-finished, carry on the level of the stone sill on which the columns rest. On the outer sides the platforms are contained by high walls which run out from the jambs of the colonnade and return, with rounded angles, just beyond the line of the platform frontage; they are walls of mud brick smoothly faced with white plaster, a material which suggests an interior rather than an exterior wall, but since the angles come at the limits of our excavation it is not yet possible to say whether the plastered wall forms the façade of the building or whether the steps and paved court are really an interior feature. There is a further fact which may have a bearing on this question. In the

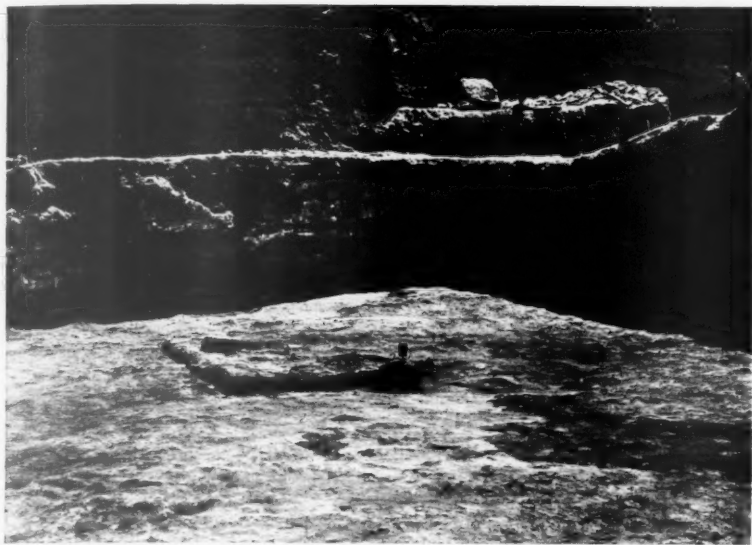
¹ There is no mark of a column-base on the surviving threshold and it is therefore impossible to restore two columns; moreover, enough of the wall remains at the north corner to show that the opening was not central.

² The centre of the stone where the column rested is smooth but unpolished; the edges which showed beyond the shaft are polished.

entrance-room (1), as in room 2, which has not yet been described, the basalt orthostats are dry-built. It is to be remarked that none of them is strictly rectangular; the top and base lines are parallel, but the sides are never vertical. In order to make stones so shaped fit together they must have been trimmed on the spot, but the trimming has been admirably done and the joints are so close that there was no need for any mortar between them. The orthostats of the two staircase platforms are similarly shaped, but after they had been put in position the joints were filled with a cement plaster applied with so little care for appearances that it is smeared broadly over the edges of the stones; the same cement is employed in the horizontal joints between the orthostats and the limestone blocks on which they rest, in the joints between the orthostats and the ends of the stair-treads, and in all the joints of the treads themselves. It is useless to speculate at length on a point which future excavation is almost certain to clear up, but this water-proofing of the stone-work does for the moment seem to imply exposure to the weather and therefore that the walls in question were external.

It has already been remarked that large quantities of concrete pavement fragments were found on the south side of the hall, on and in front of the sill of the colonnade; their position is hardly consistent with their having come from an upper chamber to the east of the hall, and still less from one to the north of it; it would seem that there was a room above the entrance-hall, the width of which, 5 m., is not too great a span for ceiling-beams. Actually the evidence for it was present. When the room was cleared the basalt jambs at either end of the south wall were discovered, but between them there ran a line of mud brick rather more than a metre wide and 1.70 m. high; it was a compact mass, and although no true face could be detected (which was not surprising in view of the destruction of the building by fire) we assumed that it was the south wall. It was only when we recognized the close resemblance of the court and steps and sunken pavement to features in a Minoan palace, a resemblance which would have been complete had there been on the south side a columned approach instead of a mud-brick wall, that we decided to remove the mud brick; and as soon as the work started the column-bases were found exactly where we had marked their probable position. The mud brick was evidently the wall which had rested on the architrave supported by the columns, and the existence of an upper floor was therefore demonstrated.

Room 2, opening out of the entrance-hall on the east, was much ruined by the wall-builders of the succeeding period; the whole of its south side except for the two corners had disappeared, as



1. Room 3, showing timber-holes in brickwork



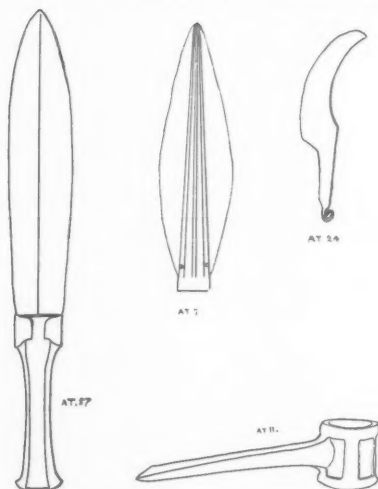
2. The steps and column-bases
Level IV, the 'Palace' site



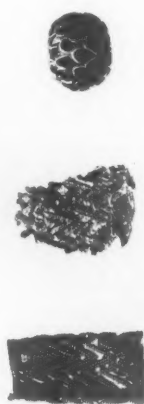
1. Burnished red ware, Level IV



2. White and smother-kiln pottery, Level IV



3. Bronze spear-head, razor, and socketed adze



4. Gold cloisonné bead and granulated gold work (back and front views), Level IV

EXCAVATIONS AT TAL ATCHANA, 1937 25

had the whole of the east wall, again with the exception of the corners. Part of the north wall, too, had gone, while half of the clay floor had been cut away for the laying of the fortress wall-foundations. As in room 1, the wall had a course of basalt orthostats resting on limestone blocks, but here the slabs were only 0.56 m. high; of the upper parts of the walls nothing remained, but the backing was of mud brick. A doorway with basalt door-jambs at the south end of the east wall led into a room not yet excavated; in the north wall was another door, also with basalt jambs, leading into room 3.

In the entrance-hall, apart from the charred beams already mentioned, a certain amount of ashes on the floor bore witness to the destruction of the building by fire. In room 2 these signs were far more obvious, and the door-jambs in particular were not merely flaked but broken up by the heat of the burning door-frames, but the extreme seemed to be reached in room 3.

Room 3 was very large, measuring 13.50 m. by 8.30 m. Its floor was of beaten clay, very hard and smooth, its walls of mud brick with no stone orthostats. These walls were not easy to follow. The bricks of which they were built had been burnt to a deep red colour and practically pulverized by heat. In the wall face, at intervals of two courses of bricks, i.e. at vertical distances of 0.20 m., and at horizontal distances of 0.95 m., there were holes 0.20 m. square running back into the wall for distances varying from 0.20 m. to 0.50 m. in which had been set wooden baulks; the two courses of bricks between the rows of baulks were set back 0.20 m., to allow of horizontal timbers being built into the wall face. With the burning of the woodwork the bricks, left unsupported, had collapsed, so that the face of the wall was virtually unrecognizable; its condition is illustrated by the photograph on pl. xv, 1, which shows the best-preserved part of it, and the architectural elevation on pl. xiv makes its character clear. What is not certain is the reason for this lavish use of timber. Precisely the same thing is found in the Hittite palace at Tainat¹ of the eighth century B.C., and at Carchemish;² it is not constructional, properly speaking, for the timber does not go far enough into the walls to act as a binding for the mud brick; it is confined to the surface of the wall, and I think it certain that it was intended as a framework to which panelling could be fixed.³ To this it can

¹ See MacEwan, *The Syrian Expedition of the Oriental Institute*.

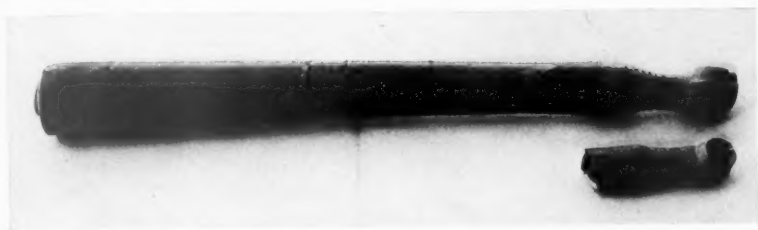
² *Carchemish*, ii, p. 149.

³ On the face of the mud-brick which projects so as to be flush with the face of the horizontal beams there is no sign of any plaster, nor is the brickwork even pointed; the conclusion to be drawn from this is that the brickwork was not visible.

rightly be objected that the framework is much too solid for such a purpose—there is no need of 0·20 m. square baulks to secure a wood sheathing. It seems to me that the explanation is that we have here a survival; the original method of building had been to construct a caisson formed of two wooden sheaths held together by stout joists and to fill it, as it rose, with mud or rubble, so that it was really a wooden wall with a mud core, the sort of wall that might be built in a country where wood was plentiful. When the principle was transported into a country in which mud brick was the normal and natural building-material the traditional panelling was retained as decoration, but the workers could not divest themselves of the tradition that there must be solid wood behind it. Should this theory be thought to underrate the intelligence of the Hittite builder it can only be repeated that in both cases, at Atchana and at Tainat, the timber-work is superficial, not constructional, that it is quite disproportionate to its purpose, and that since one building is eight hundred years older than the other an illogical tradition did in fact persist for eight centuries.

The amount of woodwork employed had, when the building took fire, produced a heat which had turned the whole mass of mud brick in the walls to a uniform red, but it had done even more than that. The jambs of the doorway from room 2 were of basalt; the heat had not only cracked the stone but had actually melted it, so that down the face of the block there trickled vitreous gouts. The whole floor of room 3 was thickly covered with wood ash, and a Cypriote milk-bowl found in it had been fused into clinkers and partly vitrified. The conflagration had been so severe that no evidence remained to show whether the room had been roofed or not. A few fragments of beams lay well away from the wall towards the east end (over much of the room the evidence had been destroyed by the foundations of the level III wall which crosses it diagonally) but there was no sign of any columns, and to support a roof of so great a span columns of some sort would have been essential. The panelling of the walls would seem to imply that the latter were internal rather than external, but in our present ignorance of local custom the argument is not decisive, and the size of the room, together with the fact that it is surrounded by other rooms, make it perhaps more likely that it was an open court.

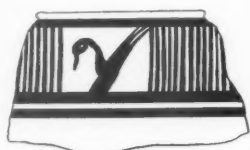
The northern end of the east wall was destroyed by the level III building, and it is impossible to say whether there was originally a door there. In the north wall there were two doors which had had wooden jambs, not stone, leading to rooms 4 (not excavated) and 5, of which a corner was cleared by us. There were no doors



1. Libation-pourer (?) of red clay, Level IV



2. Ivory toilet-box, Level IV



ATP. 349



ATP. 346



ATP. 344



ATP. 345



ATP. 347



ATP. 348



ATP. 349



ATP. 350

3. Potsherds from the filling of the older rampart



in the west wall, but behind it lay rooms 6 and 7; of each of them a small area adjoining the wall was excavated to floor level, but the real clearing of the rooms had to be left over to next season. The only other feature of room 3 was a low square hearth outlined with burnt bricks which lay towards the S.E. corner (see plan). Close to this were found the fragments of the fused Cypriote bowl already mentioned, and two pieces of gold binding for a staff (?), sheet gold decorated with a pattern of triangles in extremely fine granulated work¹ (pl. xvi, 4) of very Aegean character. Here, too, between the hearth and the east wall, lay fragments of three cuneiform tablets which would seem to have fallen from the adjoining room; they were burnt black and hardened by the fire which destroyed the building. The tablets² are of great interest for the history of the site.

The partly excavated rooms 6, 7, and 8 were store-rooms and their contents were found virtually undisturbed—thus in room 6 piles of clay plates were lying in the soil tilted at the angle to which they had slipped when the shelves on which they had been gave way. The pottery was extraordinarily abundant, the floors being thickly covered with vases or fragments of vases, mostly of local fabrics, but with a fair admixture of imported Cypriote vessels, both milk-bowls of the earlier type (polychrome and with ring handles) and base-ring vessels; of the local wares the most striking were plain pots with a red haematite wash, sometimes finely burnished, or burnished brown slip (pl. xvi, 1) representing an early phase of the true Syrian ceramic tradition which continued into the sixth century B.C. and then produced the very delicate red platters found by us at al Mina on the sea-coast. In room 5, inside a Cypriote bowl, was found a large spherical gold bead of cloisonné work (pl. xvi, 4) inlaid with lapis lazuli and white shell; it is interesting to find that as early as the sixteenth century B.C. both these advanced techniques of the goldsmith, granulated and cloisonné, were at home in north Syria. The bead may, of course, be of foreign manufacture, but the cloisonné figurines from Carchemish now in the British Museum³ do at least show that it was

¹ The technique is interesting. In the sheet gold the pattern was defined by sunken channels in the base of which were impressed hollows, one for each gold pellet: the latter were fixed by a gold solder sprinkled over them and heated from above, presumably by means of a blow-lamp. The solder has joined the pellets together but has not always sunk low enough to secure them to the base.

² To be published by Mr. Sidney Smith in *Iraq*.

³ The date of them is uncertain; they were found in a late burial, possibly of the eighth century B.C., but their close resemblance to the Yasilikaya stone reliefs inclines one to the belief that they were heirlooms at the time when they were buried. With this bead may be compared the cloisonné dagger-hilt from Shaft Grave IV,

a technique which the Hittites made their own. In the same room there lay a toilet-box of ivory in the form of a duck (pl. xvii, 2); the head was turned back over the body, the neck was made of alternate rings of ivory and some other material (perhaps dark wood?) which has left no trace of itself; the bird's back is the lid of the box which opened by turning on a swivel.¹ The duck is, if not of Egyptian manufacture, at any rate modelled on an Egyptian original, and is therefore a document illustrating the commercial relations between that country and north Syria.

The palace is the earliest Hittite building yet known to us—that it should properly be called Hittite is, I think, proved by its resemblance in every point of construction and technique to the Hittite buildings of a later date—and it is interesting to observe how closely allied it is to Cretan buildings of the Minoan Age. The columned entry, with its flight of stairs, might have been a feature in the palace at Knossos; there is the same use of orthostats, though here naturally basalt takes the place of gypsum; there is a similar employment of timber in the upper walls, and of cement. A few fragments of the typical Atchana pottery found in the ashes lying on the floor confirm the evidence obtained from level IV on our main site to the effect that this ware, in which it is difficult not to recognize Minoan connexions, was already in use in a building whose architecture is so startlingly Minoan.

Mycenae, and a staff-head now in the Cyprus Museum; v. L. H. D. Buxton, Stanley Casson, and J. L. Myres in *Man*, vol. xxxii, 1.

¹ One would have expected ivory to be damaged by the fire which destroyed the building; it is indeed burnt to a deep brown colour, but is otherwise perfect and has not even lost its original polish.

The Roman Occupation of Britain: its Early Phase

By T. DAVIES PRYCE, F.S.A.

IN this paper an endeavour is made to elucidate certain aspects of the early phase of the Roman occupation. The period under consideration is that of the governorships of Aulus Plautius and Ostorius Scapula, A.D. 43-52. The evidence that is germane to the question is both historical and archaeological, and some fresh material, more particularly relating to 'detail-find', is embodied in the text and appendixes.

When, in the year 43, Claudius effected his 'ceremonial' capture of Camulodunum,¹ he found a people already largely Romanized, and, it may be surmised, not wholly averse to Imperial rule. The ready submission of the Trinovantes and a system of alliance with certain tribes, particularly with the powerful Iceni in the north-east (Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 31), permitted the main body of the Roman army to continue its function of conquest and occupation, at an early stage of the invasion.² The main lines of penetration were towards the north, north-west, and south-west. Of this early movement, in the south-west, during the governorship of Aulus Plautius, we have some evidence in the pages of Suetonius³ and Dio.⁴ Archaeologically,

¹ Cf. Suetonius, *Claudius*, xvii, for an account of the feeble resistance met with by Claudius himself. According to this, the most nearly contemporary authority, part of the island submitted to him within a few days of his arrival, without battle or bloodshed—*sine ullo proelio aut sanguine*. See also Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* 216.

Dio, lx, 21, 4, states that Claudius defeated the barbarians in battle and captured Camulodunum. But the weak character of the opposition may be gauged by his further statement (lx, 23, 1) that Claudius only remained sixteen days in Britain.

² Bearing in mind these circumstances, it may be suggested that a force of some 3,000 to 4,000 men would be amply sufficient to garrison the captured capital and police the neighbouring country. Extensive excavation has failed to find any traces of a legionary camp. Any attempt to correlate the functions of the Claudian legions, when they reached Colchester, with those of the Rhine legions in the Claudian period must necessarily prove misleading, for in the first case the function was conquest and occupation, whilst in the second it was frontier defence. In this context it may be noted that even as early as the reign of Tiberius the invasion of Germany by Germanicus, A.D. 14-16, was in the nature of a punitive expedition rather than of an occupational campaign (cf. Tac. *Annals*, ii, 26).

³ Suetonius, *Vespasian*, iv: conquest of the Isle of Wight and other exploits by Vespasian, under Claudius and Aulus Plautius.

⁴ Dio, lxi, 30, 1.

too, there is good evidence of a very early Roman occupation of Hod Hill, Blandford.¹ Other material to the same effect will emerge as we proceed.

Fortunately, Tacitus in his *Annals*, xii, 31 f., has given us a comparatively full and—except for one difficult passage—clear account of the operations of Ostorius Scapula. For the sake of clarity the chief events of his governorship are summarized below, together with their approximate dates:

- A.D.
- 47. Irruptions of the enemy into the territories of the allies—their defeat and dispersal.
 - 47–48. Ostorius decides to disarm suspected tribes and to occupy the country on the proximal side of the rivers Trent and Severn (see p. 31).
 - 48. Rebellion of the Iceni and neighbouring tribes—their defeat.
 - 48–49. Expedition against the Deceangi. Return of the invaders owing to threatening movements amongst the Brigantes.
 - 49. In order to facilitate operations against the Silures, a *colonia* is established at Camulodunum. Apparently, the greater part of the garrison is withdrawn (cf. *Annals*, xiv, 32), their place being taken by time-expired soldiers. A legionary fortress is established against the Silures (*Annals*, xii, 32).
 - 50–51. Invasion of the territory of the Silures (*Annals*, xii, 33). The war transferred to the country of the Ordovices. Defeat of Caratacus. He is delivered up to the conquerors 'in the ninth year after the beginning of the war in Britain' (*Annals*, xii, 36).
 - 51–52. The war with the Silures continues and is fraught with many disasters to the Roman arms (*Annals*, xii, 38–40). The Silures take the offensive and invade Roman territory. Ostorius Scapula dies and is succeeded by Aulus Didius Gallus, A.D. 52.

With the exception, perhaps, of some slight readjustment of dates, the above short summary appears to be a correct account of the activities of Ostorius Scapula. It, however, embodies

¹ In the British Museum there is a number of early Samian decorated bowls, form 29, from Hod Hill. Two of them are of Tiberio-Claudian type, i.e., *B.M. Cat.* M 208: short upright rim, rounded contour, rouletted central moulding, sessile scroll on the upper frieze (see *Archaeologia*, lxxviii, 82, text-fig. 2). M 284: short upright rim, sessile scroll on upper frieze (Walters' type 2), rows of large beads. Other examples of this form, from the same site, having decoration of the Claudian type are *B.M. Cat.* M 246–7, 285–6. Brooches of a Claudian or even earlier type have also been found on this site (cf. *A Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain*, figs. 56, 66). The 'disc-brooch', fig. 66, is a military type and rarely found in Britain.

Mr. Henry Bradley's emendation of the difficult passage in the *Annals*. The passage and its emendation are as follows:

(a) 'detrahere arma suspectis, cunctaque castris Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat' (*Annals*, xii, 31).

(b) 'detrahere arma suspectis, cunctaque cis Trisantonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat' (Bradley in *Academy*, 28th April and 19th May 1883). Thus the 'castris Antonam' of the text is emended so as to read 'cis Trisantonam'. Most scholars have accepted this emendation.¹ It may be paraphrased as follows: Ostorius 'began to disarm suspected tribes and to coerce, or hold the land on this—the proximal—side of the rivers Trent and Severn'.² If we accept Mr. Bradley's emendation it is clear that the new frontier line of Ostorius was, broadly speaking, conterminous with the proximal sides of the rivers Trent and Severn, and that part of this frontier included the north-east sector of the Fosse-way, from Leicester to Lincoln. It is also clear that the larger section of the Fosse, from Leicester to Exeter (or Seaton), bore no relationship to the greater part of the new frontier of Ostorius (see map, fig. 1).

The Fosse, running obliquely across Britain from Exeter to Lincoln, is a striking monument of Roman military engineering. There is no evidence of the construction of this continuous roadway in pre-Claudian times; indeed the tribal divisions of the country, on the eve of the conquest, wholly invalidates such a view.³ Its continuity and 'purposiveness' strongly support Prof. Collingwood's view⁴ that it is representative of the limits of an early stage of effective occupation; in other words, that it was a transverse or boundary *limes*.⁵ The question whether it

¹ T. Hodgkin, *The Political History of England*, 1906, i, 34; C. Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest*, 1910, p. 68; F. Haverfield, *The Roman Occupation of Britain*, 1924, p. 104 (the Trent is marked *Trisantonam* on the accompanying map); J. G. C. Anderson, revised edition of Furneaux, *Tacitus Agricola*, 1924 (on the map the Trent is named *Trisantonam*); R. G. Collingwood, *J.R.S.* 1924, xiv, 254.

² Furneaux's paraphrase (*Annals of Tacitus*, p. 253) is as follows: Ostorius 'took measures to disarm suspected tribes and generally to put pressure upon (cohibere) the Iceni and others along the inner side of this limit [i.e. the rivers Severn, Avon, and Trent], so that the invader might find no support within Roman territory'. But the Iceni were far removed from the Trent and Severn, nor does the emended passage warrant the inclusion of the river Avon. Haverfield (*V.C.H. Northants.*, i, 214) renders the latter part of this passage thus: Ostorius 'began to coerce all the land south of the Trent and Severn'.

³ The invader might well have followed occasional stretches of existing British trackways.

⁴ *J.R.S.* xiv, 252 f.

⁵ An approximate parallel may be noted in Agricola's Clyde-Forth *limes* (*Tac. Agricola*, 23).

was constructed at one specific date or during two quickly succeeding periods will be discussed later.

A frontier conterminous with the rivers Trent and Severn¹ would appear to be a necessary preliminary to any advance against the Silures and Ordovices. Only by some such means could Ostorius secure his rear and his right 'occupation-flank'.² The story of Tacitus, as thus told, fully meets the political

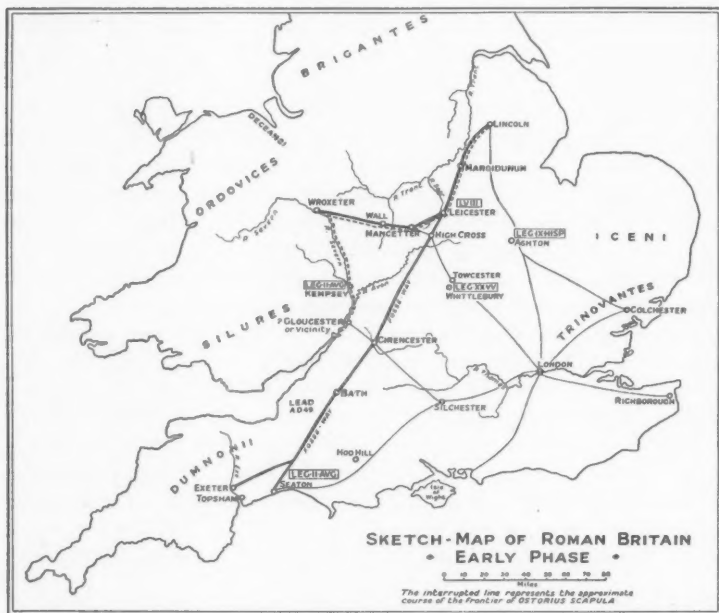


FIG. 1

necessities of the moment; briefly, it was control of the lowlands as far as the rivers Trent and Severn and the establishment of a frontier on the near side of these rivers. The cardinal sites on this frontier were Lincoln, Leicester, and Wroxeter in the north, and Wroxeter and possibly Gloucester (or its vicinity) in

¹ Cf. Tacitus, *Agricola*, 41, for a riparian frontier in the reign of Domitian. But the river-frontier was no new thing, for Drusus, late in the first century B.C., built 50 *castella* on the west bank of the Rhine, between Xanten and Mainz (Florus, iv, 12).

² That Ostorius Scapula was not altogether sure of the stability of his right 'occupation-flank' is shown by his somewhat hurried return from the territory of the Deceangi, on account of threatening movements amongst the Brigantes (*Annals*, xii, 32).

the west. Archaeological and other evidence appears to afford quite definite support to this reading of the historical narrative of Tacitus. At present this evidence is incomplete and further investigation of certain sites is a desideratum. Of one section of this frontier we may be reasonably certain, i.e., the Fosse-way from Leicester to Lincoln, to the south-east of the Trent and its tributary the Soar.

Lincoln. It is highly probable that Leg. IX Hisp. took up its quarters here at the beginning of this forward movement, A.D. 47-8, for the absence of *cognomina* from the gravestones of two of its soldiers (*C.I.L.* vii, 183, 188) substantially dates the site in the Claudian period.¹ As yet, very little pottery which can be definitely assigned to this date is forthcoming, but the occurrence of two stamps of the early sigillata-potter ALBVS FE and of three early examples of the plain form Dr. 24-25 might be mentioned. The 'disc-brooch', *Guide Ant. Rom. Brit.*, fig. 66, is also suggestive. But the early bronze or brass coins found at Lincoln are highly corroborative of a Claudian date. No less than 78 of these coins are forthcoming, dating from Augustus to Claudius inclusive. The bronze coinage is quoted because of its superior value for purposes of site-dating. At Margidunum, midway between Leicester and Lincoln, the evidence of a Claudian occupation is quite definite.²

Leicester. Here much material of a Claudian date has been found. Early sigillata, both decorated and plain, is well represented. So also the early occupation is witnessed by coarse pottery in the form of girth-beakers (chiefly of local manufacture), butt-beakers (some of which were imported), and a considerable number of imported Belgic plates and cups. Examples of plates with the true Pompeian-red coating, as found at Haltern and Hofheim, are also forthcoming. The discovery of a decorated Arretine fragment, in the style of M. PERENNIVS BARGATHES or of P. CORNELIVS, referable to the first third of the first century A.D., even suggests a pre-Claudian native settlement.³ The tile of Leg. VIII (fig. 3, no. 2), a detachment of which accompanied the invading Claudian army, also indicates an early date.⁴

¹ Cf. Haverfield, *Lincs. Notes and Queries*, July 1909, p. 195. See also Ritterling in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*, 'Legio', col. 1667. He dates the occupation of Lincoln at latest A.D. 48.

² Cf. Oswald, *J.R.S.* xiii, 114 f., and *Trans. Thoroton Soc.* xxxi, 1927, pls. v and vi. See also Pryce, 'Margidunum', *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 1912, pp. 29-30.

³ Cf. *Antiq. Journ.* xiii, 58.

⁴ Cf. Haverfield, *Arch. Journ.* lxxv, II, 26, 27. Until Haverfield read this tile-stamp correctly there was considerable doubt as to the participation of (a vexilla-

Leicester to Wroxeter. Continuing our investigation of the frontier-line of Ostorius Scapula, we find that the Watling Street, from Leicester (or High Cross) to Wroxeter, is broadly continuous with the higher reaches of the Trent and its tributaries. This section may be regarded as a *limes* in both senses of the term, i.e., a *penetrative* roadway and a *transverse* or boundary frontier line. In this intermediate section the evidence of a Claudian occupation is not so determinate as that furnished by the fore-mentioned sites of Lincoln, Margidunum, and Leicester. Two sites have, however, been partially excavated, and they have produced material that is suggestive. At Mancetter, a form 29 and a form 30 have decoration which is definitely pre-Flavian (O'Neil, *Trans. Birming. Arch. Soc.* liii, 173 f., pl. xxi, fig. 2), and some pieces of coarse pottery, notably the bowl, pl. xxvi, 45, are also of early type.¹ All these pieces might well be of Claudian date. Again, at Wall (Letocetum), a form 29 with the short, upright rim that is typical of the early Claudian period has been found (now in the museum on the site). The evidence furnished by these few sherds of pottery is too slender to be regarded as anything more than suggestive, but in view of the early occupation of the two end-sites of this section, i.e. Leicester and Wroxeter, the suggestion appears to be one of considerable weight.

Wroxeter. 'On this side of the river Severn' the salient of Wroxeter affords a site of obvious selection, for it could be adapted both to offence and defence. Thus, it was convenient for advance up the Shropshire and Cheshire plains to the north and along the Severn Valley to the west. Conversely, it furnished an effective barrier to hostile irruptions from these districts. In view of the military operations of Ostorius, no position could have been more suitable, for it furnished a convenient base for his successive advances against the Deceangi (*Annals*, xii, 32) in A.D. 48-9 and the Ordovices² (*ibid.*, xii, 33) in A.D. 50-1. That Wroxeter was established as a two-legion fortress in the Claudian period is substantially proved by the discovery of two very early gravestones of soldiers of Leg. XIV Gem., and one

tion of) this legion in the invasion. Thus Ritterling (P.-W. *Real-Encyclop.*, 'Legio', col. 1647), whilst admitting the probability that Aulus Plautius, who until A.D. 43 had been governor of Pannonia, took with him vexillations of the two other Pannonian legions, the VIIIth and XVth, as well as the entire IXth legion, questions the relevance of the two inscriptions (*C.I.L.* v, 7003; xi, 6163) which had been quoted in favour of this view.

¹ The stamps of the early potters CASTVS and LABIO have been found at Mancetter.

² Cf. Pryce, 'Caersws', *Mont. Coll.* xlii, 49-50.

of a soldier of Leg. XX V.V.¹ This conclusion is supported by the presence of the stamps of many pre-Flavian sigillata potters, who were in full activity in the Claudian age. Among them may be mentioned AMANDVS, AQVITANVS (2 exx.), ARDACVS, BASSVS (2), DAMONVS, LICINIANVS, LICINVS, MODESTVS (3), PRIMVS and SCOTIVS, and QVARTVS (2).² Early decorated Samian, which might well be of Claudian date, is also forthcoming (cf. *Wroxeter Rep.*, 1913, xii, 1; 1914, xxiv, 1, 2) as well as other ware of a pre-Flavian date. Especially suggestive are two yellow-glazed spine-beakers (cf. *op. cit.*, 1912, fig. 7), close copies of an early or Haltern type. The cumulative effect of this historical, epigraphic, and ceramic evidence is the conviction that Wroxeter was founded in the Claudian period.³

No such evidence can be cited in the case of Chester. Here the first effectual occupation must, almost certainly, be assigned to the early Flavian period.⁴

Wroxeter to Severn Estuary. The western frontier of Ostorius would, according to this reading, lie on or near the east bank of the river Severn, beginning at Wroxeter and ending at its estuary. But it must be noted that little, if anything, which can be attributed to the reign of Claudius has been found in this sector. At Kempsey,⁵ 4½ miles south of Worcester, there is evidence of a Roman settlement, but it has produced (as far as can be gathered) no material which can be definitely assigned to the Claudian period. Here, however, a tile of Leg. II Aug. has been found (fig. 3, no. 3), and it is tempting to regard it as evidence that the 'Watch on Severn' was not neglected by so competent a commander. This point is further discussed in Appendix III.

Gloucester or its vicinity. Gloucester would appear to be an obvious site of selection, prior to the advance against the Silures,⁶

¹ Cf. *C.I.L.* vii, 154, 155, 156. Nos. 154-5 are inscriptions to soldiers of Leg. XIV Gem.; in one the cognomen is absent; in the other, probably so. No. 156 is a very early gravestone of a soldier of Leg. XX. For further details see Ritterling in P.-W.'s *Real-Encyclopädie*, 'Legio', cols. 1731, 1772; also Haverfield, *V.C.H. Shropshire*, i, 244-5. Haverfield, apparently under the impression that Leg. XX was stationed at Chester in the Claudian period, assigned the tombstone of this soldier to a later date.

² Many other potters whose wares are frequently found on Claudian sites, such as Hofheim I, Richborough, and London, are also forthcoming, e.g., *Murrans* (3 exx.), *Niger* (4), *Niger* and *Andecarus*, etc.

³ No definite structural evidence of a legionary base has, as yet, been discovered.

⁴ See Appendix I.

⁵ Cf. *V.C.H. Worcestershire*, i, 210-11; J. Allies, *Worcestershire*, 1852, p. 55 f.

⁶ The territory occupied by this tribe corresponded to east South Wales, Monmouthshire, and probably a large part of Herefordshire. Its eastern boundary appears to have been the Severn.

and it has been surmised that Ostorius Scapula established his legionary camp, against this tribe,¹ in this locality. But nothing, either epigraphic or ceramic, of a Claudian date has been found here. A few pieces of decorated sigillata of Nero-Vespasian type and a single stamp of the potter LABIO are forthcoming, but in view of the absence of anything indicative of a Claudian occupation, they must be regarded as 'survivals' into the early Flavian period. To sum up, the evidence at present available does not warrant an earlier foundation than c. A.D. 70.² Yet the locality is so suitable for the delivery of operations against the Silures that one is almost compelled to visualize a legionary camp, or perhaps a series of camps in this district, during the Claudian period.³ Perhaps the true explanation of this lack of material evidence lies in the transitory character of their occupation, for during these years Leg. II Aug. was almost continuously employed in operations amongst the Silures, incidentally suffering many disasters and at least one defeat (*Annals*, xii, 38-40). That Ostorius intended that his operations of A.D. 51-2 should be of the nature of an 'occupation-campaign' is shown by the passage in *Annals*, xii, 38, where we are told that the enemy attacked and defeated a force of legionaries left behind to construct fortified posts amongst the Silures, killing the prefect of the camp and eight centurions—*praefectum castrorum et legionarias cohortes exstruendis apud Siluras praesidiis relictas circumfundunt . . . praefectus tamen et octo centuriones ac promptissimus quisque e manipulis cecidere*.⁴ Some evidence suggestive of this ill-fated attempt of Ostorius to occupy Silurian territory is forthcoming from Usk, where two decorated sigillata vessels, form 30, and two varnished bowls, Ritt. 25 A, have been found. They are definitely of pre-Flavian type, and are probably Claudian importations. But whatever occupation there may have been was only short-lived, for within a brief period the Silures were invading Roman territory (*Annals*, xii, 40). Nor is there any historical or archaeological evidence of a Roman occupation during the

¹ *Annals*, xii, 32. It is clear that the advance into the territory of the Silures had not yet begun, for it is recorded in the following chapter, xii, 33.

² Mr. C. Green, curator of the Gloucester Museum, who is preparing a paper on the subject, is in full agreement with this finding.

³ There are many barbarous imitations of the coins of Claudius in the Gloucester Museum. In most cases the provenance is not stated. None is noted as coming from within the walls of Gloucester, but some come from the neighbouring site of Kingsholm, which appears to have been of earlier foundation.

⁴ It will thus be seen that the intriguing story (cf. R. G. Collingwood, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, p. 97) of the storming, capture, and recovery of Gloucester has neither historical nor archaeological warrant.

principate of Nero. Effective domination was postponed until the early Flavian period, when the legionary fortress of Caerleon was founded, c. A.D. 75.

Having discussed the available evidence relating to the frontier of Ostorius Scapula, we now turn to a further consideration of the Fosse-way. It is a moot question whether this road began at Seaton or Exeter, or in the immediate neighbourhood.¹ In the early years of the Roman invasion the second legion, under the vigorous command of Vespasian, conquered a larger area than that which can be credited to its congeners.

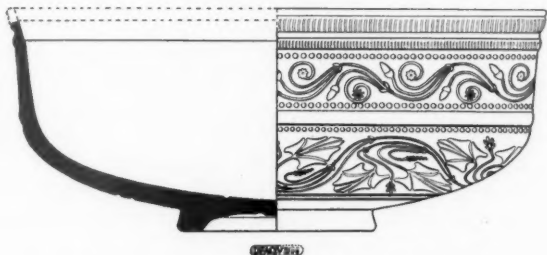


FIG. 2. Terra Sigillata bowl from Exeter ($\frac{1}{3}$)

This progress may be attributed to the character of its leader, the comparatively favourable nature of the terrain traversed, a native population already more or less continentalized, and probably also to the use of sea-power (see footnote 1). The early material found at Hod Hill and the tile of the second legion discovered at Seaton (*Eph. Epigr.* ix, 1268; see also fig. 3, no. 4) furnish tangible evidence of this advance. At Exeter also a number of early finds indicate that the Roman army had reached that site in the Claudian age. The bowl of AQVITANVS (fig. 2) is typologically early Claudian.² The work of AQVITANVS is

¹ Mr. Raleigh Radford informs me that at Topsham, on the east bank of the river Exe and at the head of the estuary, evidence of early Roman occupation has been found. The deep layers were constructed of timber, in the gullies of which pre-Flavian and Flavian pottery, both sigillata and coarse ware, was discovered. The early use of this site as a sea-base is suggested.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat.* M 228: Form 29, stamped OF AQVITANI. Rounded contour as in early examples of this form. On the upper frieze is a two-leaf scroll, whilst the lower frieze is decorated with palmate leaves, spiral buds, and small six-lobed leaves, a scheme of ornamentation exactly paralleled on a cylindrical bowl at Hofheim I (cf. *O. and P.* vii, 1). This particular type of palmate leaf was also used by the early potters NAMVS and SENICIO (Knorr, *Terra Sigillata*, 1919, 60 A, 76 B). The rows of large well-spaced beads and the bifid 'tendrils-unions', each with two basal beads, are highly characteristic of early work.

particularly characteristic of the Claudian age. Four of his stamps have been found at Exeter, as well as one of **BASSVS** and three of **MODESTVS**.¹ Further decorated pieces of a pre-Flavian date are also forthcoming. The early plain forms are Ritt. 1, 8, 9, 12 and Drag. 24-5.

Coins of Claudius are relatively plentiful, and have repeatedly been found in the deeper levels.²

That the Romans had already penetrated beyond this southern section of the Fosse as early as A.D. 49 is proved by the discovery of two 'lead-pigs' referred to this year, in the Mendips, at Blagdon and Wookey Hole (*C.I.L.* vii, 1201, 1202).³ As would be expected, the coin-series at the neighbouring town of Bath suggests an early occupation (*V.C.H. Somerset*, i, 286). The tile of Leg. II Aug. found at Sea Mills, on the river Avon, midway between Bristol and the estuary of the Severn, may indicate an early occupation or may be a later importation from Caerleon, where a close parallel has been found (cf. *Arch. Camb.*, 1932, fig. 4, no. 7). In the same county of Somerset Mr. St George Gray has recently excavated Kingsdown camp, midway between Frome and Radstock, and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the east of the Fosse-way. Much early material was found,⁴ and it is tempting to correlate the early phase of this earthwork with the building of the Fosse. Thus it will be seen that there was early Roman activity on each side of this section of the Fosse, i.e. at Seaton and Kingsdown on the east and in the Mendips on the west.

Although the Dumnonii may have been subjected to a 'demonstration in force', there is no evidence of effectual occupation of their territory, nor do we hear of any hostile action on the part of this tribe. It may, therefore, be surmised that the second legion did not remain long at the southern extreme of the Fosse, but was soon moved up the line to Cirencester, where it may have joined other troops (perhaps a vexillation of its own) already in occupation. The Claudian foundation of Roman Cirencester is demonstrated by the relative abundance of early finds. An early occupation of this site is inherently probable inasmuch as it lies in the direct line of approach from

¹ Note also the following potters who were already at work in the Claudian period, as at Hofheim, but whose activity continued, in varying degrees, into the Flavian Age: *Celadus, Crestio, Felix, Mommo, Niger, Murranus* and *Primus*.

² Shortt, *Sylva Antiqua Iscana*, p. 55.

³ See also *British Mus. Guide to Antiqs. Rom. Britain*, p. 30, fig. 21a.

⁴ Cf. *Archaeologia*, lxxx, 59 f., figs. 2, P 33, 38, early decorated sigillata; 3, early coarse ware; 4, base of pedestal urn; 5, E 21, brooch of Hod Hill type, c. A.D. 40-50.

London to the territory of the Silures, to whom Caratacus had fled, presumably soon after his defeats of 43. This powerful tribe, stimulated by the presence of so virile a personality, required careful watching, and although Cirencester lies some seventeen miles distant from the 'crossing' of the Severn, it is the only considerable site in this western district that has produced indubitable evidence of a Claudian occupation. There is no direct evidence that Leg. II was stationed here, but in view of the military necessities of the time a legionary occupation is highly probable, as has been suggested by Ritterling (P.-W., *R.-Encycl.*, 'Legio', col. 1460). That there was a military garrison at Cirencester, in the first century, is demonstrated by the two early tombstones of cavalry soldiers (*C.I.L.* vii, 66, 68). Indeed, the possibility that Cirencester remained the *permanent* base of this legion throughout the Claudius-Nero period should not be overlooked. The detail-evidence relative to this site is discussed in Appendix II.

Reference has already been made to the tiles of Legs. II and VIII. It remains to direct attention to those of Legs. IX and XX found at Hilly Wood, in the parish of Ashton, near the line of the Ermine Street, and at Whittlebury, near the line of the Watling Street, respectively (*V.C.H. Northants.*, i, 214-15). The late Prof. Haverfield regarded the evidence furnished by the tiles of Legs. II (Seaton), VIII, IX, and XX as indicative of the progress of these legions during the early Claudian period.¹ In view of the historical and archaeological evidence collated in this paper, it would appear to be a rational assumption that legionary tiles found 'on this side of the Trent and Severn' are of Claudian date, and for this reason they have been conventionally represented on the accompanying map (fig. 1). This question is further discussed in Appendix III.

The evidence detailed above, although in some respects incomplete, is sufficiently cumulative in its effect to warrant the conclusion that Ostorius obtained control of all the land on this side of the Trent and Severn before he attempted the conquest of the Silures and Ordovices. As has already been pointed out, the Fosse, which throughout the greater part of its course has no relationship to the new frontier of Ostorius Scapula, was of Roman construction. When was it built? There appear to be three alternative solutions of this question. It may have been constructed (1) entirely by Aulus Plautius; (2) wholly by Ostorius Scapula; or (3) during the rule of both these governors. That it was conceived as a whole there cannot be a doubt, and

¹ *The Roman Occupation of Britain*, p. 106.

prima facie there would appear to be no reason why it should not have been built in its entirety by Aulus Plautius. But certain historical and archaeological considerations, to be noted later, seem to invalidate this view. That it was constructed throughout its whole length by Ostorius Scapula appears to be only remotely possible, for his new frontier was located, in some places, fifty or sixty miles in advance of the Fosse, thus rendering a large section of its middle course completely obsolete. In view of the evidence that has already been collected, it appears probable that the southern section of the Fosse, between Exeter and Leicester, represents the work, as yet unfinished, of Aulus Plautius, and that Ostorius, on his arrival, completed it by extending it from Leicester to Lincoln, thus incorporating this north-eastern section in his new frontier line. In this context, the evidence of the rapid advance of Vespasian in the south-west, as exemplified by the early 'finds' at Hod Hill, Seaton, and Exeter, should be noted. So, too, the early material found at Cirencester and Leicester is not only more plentiful, but also carries an 'earlier sense' than that found at Margidunum and Lincoln. The tile of the eighth legion found at Leicester seems to indicate a very early date, for legionary vexillations did not, normally, remain long apart from their parent units. A study of the condition of partially conquered Britain at the beginning of the governorship of Ostorius Scapula also supports this view, for it seems highly probable that the irruptions of the enemy into the territories of the allies¹ took place through the gap left by the unfinished *limes*, and that its closure led to the rebellion of the Iceni and neighbouring tribes (*Annals*, xii, 31). No longer could the tribes of Eastern Britain communicate freely with their northern neighbours. Hence their resentment at this 'encirclement'.

The following conclusions may be drawn from this investigation:

(a) There was no delay in the advance of the main body of the Roman forces from the Colchester-London line.

(b) The Fosse was constructed either in its entirety by Aulus Plautius or, as seems more probable, in part by this governor and completed by Ostorius Scapula.

¹ Historically we know of no ally other than the Iceni that could have been affected by the *completion* of the Fosse. This powerful tribe, which figured so largely in the events of the first twenty years of the Roman domination, occupied territory corresponding to modern Norfolk, a large part of Suffolk, and probably a considerable area of the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon. It may be confidently conjectured that the Silures, under Caratacus, were also actively hostile at this time, but to this there is no direct historical reference.

(c) Early in his governorship Ostorius obtained control of all the land on this side of the Trent and Severn, and established a new frontier conterminous with these rivers.

(d) There is no evidence of a Claudian occupation of either Chester or Gloucester. Details at present available indicate that their foundation must be assigned to the early Flavian period.

(e) The *permanent* head-quarters of the Second Legion in the Claudius-Nero period is yet to seek. In view of the fact that Cirencester is the only considerable pre-Flavian site as yet revealed in the lower Severn district, a tentative suggestion is that it was the base of this legion during this period.

APPENDIXES

I. CHESTER

The evidence at present available indicates that this site was founded as a military fortress in the early Flavian period, probably c. A.D. 74. The late Prof. Haverfield dated its establishment about A.D. 50 (*Grosvenor Museum Catalogue*, p. 42) and based this conclusion on the absence of the cognomen from an inscription to a centurion of Leg. XX (*Eph. Epigr.* vii, 903). But unfortunately the whole name is lacking. For this and other reasons (cf. Ritterling, P.-W., *R.-Encyclop.*, 'Legio', col. 1773) this inscription cannot be regarded as diagnostic of so early a date. Further, a Claudian foundation is wholly unsupported (up to date) by archaeological 'finds'. The evidence may be summarized as follows:

(a) No decorated sigillata can be assigned to the Claudian period. Prof. R. Newstead, who has done much work on the site, fully agrees with the statement that all the early decorated Samian found at Chester is of the Flavian type.

(b) Early plain Samian forms are absent. Thus we fail to find Ritt. types 1, 5, 8, 9, forms frequently found on Claudian sites and at Leicester, Cirencester, and Exeter on the Fosse-way.

(c) The discovery of the stamps of such pre-Flavian potters as ALBVS, LABIO (3 or 4 exx.), and MODESTVS suggests an early Flavian occupation. They are not found on definitely Agricola sites in North Britain. In view of the absence of pre-Flavian decorated sigillata they should be regarded as 'survivals'. A similar phenomenon has been found at York, which was founded A.D. 71 (*J.R.S.* xv, 192). At York, however, the evidence of pre-Flavian survival is more marked.

(d) The evidence of activity in the nearby lead-mines of the Deceangi district in the early Flavian period is also suggestive. Two pigs of lead, datable A.D. 74, have been found in the near vicinity of Chester, one, a mile and a quarter east of the east gate, the other in the Roodeye (*Chester Journ.* vii, pp. 85-6, nos. 196-7).

(e) The leaden water-pipe (*Eph. Epigr.* ix, 1039) found in East Gate Street is inscribed with the name of Agricola and is dated A.D. 79. It proves an occupation at this date, but does not necessarily indicate that Chester was founded during Agricola's governorship.

(f) The legion II Adiutrix formed part of the Britannic garrison during the period A.D. 71–86, some 15 years. Coming over with Petilius Cerialis in the year 71, it was probably first stationed at Lincoln where two gravestones (*C.I.L.* vii, 185–6) testify to its presence. Presumably a short stay is indicated. At Chester, on the other hand, no fewer than 17 tombstones of soldiers of this legion have been found; 10 of soldiers on active service (*Eph. Epigr.* ix, 1047–50, 1052–7); 1 of a veteran (*ibid.*, ix, 1051). Six more may be confidently added, on the strong evidence of the soldiers' homes (*ibid.*, vii, 885, 892, 908; ix, 1087, 1089, 1095). The large number of tombstones of this legion seems to indicate a *relatively* long occupation, i.e. one more consistent with the period c. 73/74–86 than that of 78–86; in short, it would appear that the foundation of Chester was pre-Agricolan. To sum up: (1) There is no evidence of a pre-Flavian occupation. (2) The balance of evidence suggests that Chester was founded in the early Flavian period, c. A.D. 74.

II. CIRENCESTER

This site was undoubtedly occupied in the pre-Flavian period. Historically, a foundation in the reign of Claudius is indicated, and this estimate is supported by the number of the stamps of early sigillata potters, the frequency of early plain forms, and the occurrence of decorated ware of Claudian type. The stamps of pre-Flavian potters, who were chiefly active in the Claudian period, are tabulated below (pp. 43–4). Important sites, *where the same type of stamp-impression occurs*, are indicated.

Especial attention is directed to the potters *Abitus*, *Aquitamus*, *Ardacus*, *Atepomarus*, *Bassus* (early stamp), *Cantus*, *Ingenius*, *Licinus*, *Maccarus*, *Primus Scotius*, *Quartus* and *Vapuso*. In Britain indubitable examples of their stamps are only found on sites which on historical and other grounds can be judged to have been occupied during the Claudian period, e.g. Colchester, Richborough, London, Silchester, Exeter, Wroxeter, Leicester, Margidunum. The early plain sigillata forms, found at Cirencester, are Ritt. 1 (2 exx.), 8 (2), 9 (2), and early examples of Drag. 24/25 (4) and 15/17 (3). Pre-Flavian decorated ware, probably of Claudian date, is also forthcoming. Especial note may be made of a form 29, the upper frieze of which is decorated with the repeated 'anthemion' motif, a detail derived from Arretine sources and highly characteristic of the Claudian period in London and at Hofheim (cf. *Archaeologia*, lxxviii, 92, figs. 57–8; Ritterling, *Hofheim*, xxvi. 4).

Early coins, dating from Augustus, are also represented. Unfortunately they have not been scientifically classified.

The gravestones of Dannicus and Genialis (*C.I.L.* vii, 66, 68) indicate a military occupation in the first century. This occupation may, with some confidence, be assigned to the Claudius–Nero period, for the accession

of Vespasian signalized a general forward movement which culminated, in the west, in the effective occupation of the territory of the Silures by Frontinus. Indeed, it may be suggested that the cavalry regiments to which Dannonius and Genialis belonged might well have been stationed here in the reign of Claudius. It has been customary to date the first formation of the Thracian auxiliaries from the formal annexation of Thrace in A.D. 46, but recruitment of auxiliaries had already begun, in this district, in the principate of Tiberius, when it led to open revolt (Tac. *Annals*, iv, 46). It is therefore tempting to hold the view that the Thracian *alae* represented by the tombstones of Longinus at Colchester (*Colchester Catalogue*, 1928, p. 8) and Genialis at Cirencester formed part of the invading army under Aulus Plautius.

The history of the Claudian advance, the strategic position of Cirencester, and the detailed evidence of archaeological 'finds' are all wholly consistent with a very early occupation.

<i>Potters.</i>	<i>Forms.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
OF·ABITI . . .	18	Hofheim I (A.D. 40-51), Richborough, Colchester, London.
ALBVS·F	33	Vechten, London, Chesterford. ALBVS·FE and ALBVS·F are the early impressions of this potter. The stamp OF ALBI is later.
OF·AMAN . . .	27	Orleans, Vechten, London.
OF·AQVITANI . . .	18	Sels (<i>ante</i> A.D. 41), Hofheim I, London, Xanten, Exeter, etc. The work of this potter is highly characteristic of the Claudian period.
ARDACI . . .	24/25	Hofheim I, London, Wroxeter, Silchester, Xanten (Claudius-Nero).
ATEPOMARI	18	Bourges. The typology of forms 29 by this Lezoux potter is undoubtedly early Claudian.
ATEPOMAR . . .	Ritt. 8, and 18	Lezoux, Poitiers, Vichy, Tours. The stamps of this potter also occur in London, Paris, Emporion, and Trion.
OF·BASSI . . .	18	Sels, Hofheim I, London, Colchester, Wroxeter. Very rarely this stamp occurs on sites that were occupied in the reign of Vespasian, as at Rottweil.
BASSI . . .	Ritt. 9	Sels, Hofheim I, London, Colchester, Bonn, Vechten. This early impression of the potter BASSVS is only found on sites of early foundation.
CANT·OF . . .	15/17	Xanten (Claudius-Nero). The stamps of this Tiberio-Claudian potter only occur on sites of early foundation such as Augst, Autun, Aislingen, Mainz, and London.

<i>Potters.</i>	<i>Forms.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
CASSTVS . .	18	London. The double S in the signature of CASSTVS only occurs on early sites, such as Bonn, Mainz, Strasbourg, London, and Vechten.
INGENVI . .	18	Sels, Augst, Mainz, Nîmes, Hod Hill, London, Colchester. The impression INGENVI only occurs on early sites. Rarely, the stamp OF INGEN occurs on Vespasian sites such as Rottweil, where it is almost certainly a 'survival', for the stamp OF. INGENVI also occurs at Sels.
]NGE[. . .	27	
OF. LA · BE . .	27	Bonn, Colchester, London. The stamp LABEO occurs four times at Wiesbaden, <i>ante</i> A.D. 69.
LICINI . . .	27	Silchester, Autun, London.
OF LICINI . .	18	Silchester, Mainz, Augst, Autun, Vindonissa, Richborough.
OF. MACCAR . .	18 and 27	Bonn, Colchester, Richborough, Silchester, Hofheim I, London, Mainz, Sels.
O · MACCAR . .	27	
OF · MACCAI (<i>sic</i>) . .	18 and 27	Reading somewhat doubtful; probably MACCARVS .
OF. MODES + . .	18 and 29	Hofheim I, Colchester, Leicester, Exeter, Wroxeter.
OF. MODES . .	18 and 24/25	Sels, London, Mainz, Colchester, Wroxeter.
MOD retro . . .	29	Hofheim I, London.
MOD	29	London, Exeter, Vechten. The York stamp attributed to this potter is a 'survival'.
OF. PRIM. SCO . .	18	Sels, Colchester, Vechten.
PRIMI. SCO . .	18	London, Xanten (Claudius-Nero), Vechten, Emporion. Rarely this stamp has been found on Vespasianic sites as at Rottweil, where it may be attributed to the earliest occupation.
QVARTI	33	Xanten (Claudius-Nero), Bavai. Stamps of this early potter occur at Sels, Vechten, Silchester, and Wroxeter.
VAPVSONI: S. F. .	18	Sels, Mainz, Strasbourg. Stamps of this early potter are only found on sites which were occupied in the reigns of Tiberius or Claudius.

III. LEGIONARY TILE-STAMPS

In the lowland area which came under Roman domination in the Claudian period certain legionary tile-stamps have been found. They are conventionally represented on the map, and scale-drawings of them appear

in fig. 3, nos. 1-4, 6. Their local discovery is well attested; none of them is a mere museum specimen. The possibility of local importation, at a later date, is remote; nor have we any knowledge of a legionary occupation of this lowland zone in the Nero-Vespasian period. It has been stated that roofing-tiles have not been found in Claudian military sites, either in this country or on the continent. This view is incorrect, for in the Claudius-Nero lager at Xanten it is stated that 'tegulae are mostly present but imbrices and flat bricks also occur' (*Bonn. Jahrb.* 119, p. 290). It has also been questioned whether the legions stamped their tiles in the Claudian period, but this query is abundantly answered by the frequency of the stamped tiles of Legs. V and XV in the Claudius-Nero lager at Xanten (cf. *Bonn. Jahrb.* 119, p. 290 f.; 122, p. 387 f.). Of these, the stamped tiles of Leg. V¹ date back to the rebuilding of the camp on the Fürstenberg about A.D. 40 (Steiner, *Xanten Catalogue*, p. 50). Upon this question see also Ritterling, *Röm.-germ. Korr.*, Bl. iv (1911), nr. 3, pp. 37-8, who concluded that the custom of stamping tiles began in the Claudian period. Examples of the stamped tiles of Legs. V and XV, which date to the Claudius-Nero age, are illustrated in fig. 3, nos. 7-11. The view that the Britannic tiles in question were manufactured during some temporary halt or occupation in the Claudian advance is therefore feasible from a chronological point of view.

It remains to consider the epigraphic evidence.

Fig. 3, no. 1, LEG XX VV. Whittlebury, Northants. Ansate stamp. The ansate label is found both early (fig. 3, nos. 7, 10, Xanten, A.D. 40-70) and late (Caerleon, *Archaeologia*, lxxviii, pl. 31, no. 1, A.D. 120-50). Parker, *The Roman Legions*, p. 133, states that this legion received the title of *Victrix* in recognition of the part it took in the suppression of the Boudiccan rebellion of A.D. 61. But evidence in support of this view is entirely wanting, for the inscription cited (*C.I.L.* xi, 395) does not mention the twentieth legion. Further, it should be noted that only a section of this legion participated in the defeat of Boudicca (*Tac. Annals*, xiv, 34). The title *Valeria Victrix* is clearly derived from, and refers to, the victories won under the leadership of Valerius Messalinus, in Illyricum, in A.D. 6 (Velleius Paterculus, ii, 112).² The Whittlebury stamp resembles those of the same legion, found at Chester (*J.R.S.* xxvi, 266, fig. 32, no. 5) and Holt (fig. 59, no. 1), both of the late first or second centuries. But, as will be seen later, no definite reliance can be placed on epigraphic similarity of tile-stamps in the first and second centuries of our era.

Fig. 3, no. 2, LVIII, retro. Leicester. The abbreviation of the LEG. to a simple L. and the absence of a full-stop between the L and the numeral have led some authorities to regard this stamp as a number = 58. But it should be observed that the same abbreviation and absence of the full-stop are not uncommon on the stamped tiles of Leg. V at Xanten. Two examples are illustrated, both from the Fürstenberg (fig. 3, nos. 7, 10).

¹ This legion was stationed at Xanten from the death of Augustus down to A.D. 70.

² I am indebted to Mr. Eric Birley for this reference.

Occasionally, tiles of Leg. XV, also found in the Claudius-Nero lager at Xanten, bear the same feature. In general, this contraction of the LEG. into L. appears to be an early characteristic, for more than 30 examples have been found in the Claudius-Nero period at Xanten (cf. *Bonn. Jahrb.* 119, p. 295 f.; 122, p. 389 f.). It is not, however, an exclusively early feature.¹

Fig. 3, no. 3, LEG. II. AVG. Kempsey, near Worcester. This stamp bears a close resemblance to Caerleon, fig. 4, no. 8, which was found in chronological associations dating A.D. 75-105 and 105-200. It possesses the triangular full-stop which is not uncommon in the early period (cf. fig. 3, nos. 7, 9, 11, Xanten) and which also occurs in later examples (cf. *Brecon*, fig. 52, no. 2). The possibility of importation from the comparatively near tiler of Caerleon cannot be altogether excluded.

Fig. 3, no. 4, LEG. II. AVG. retro. Seaton,² Devon. The stroke over the numeral occurs not uncommonly in the early period (cf. *Bonn. Jahrb.* 122, fig. 3, nos. 2, 3, 9, 10, Xanten, A.D. 40-70). It is also found in later examples (cf. *Caerleon*, fig. 5, no. 24, A.D. 75-120; 105-200; 200-300). So also the ligatured letters (cf. *Bonn. Jahrb.* 122, fig. 3, no. 1, A.D. 40-70, Xanten; *Caerleon*, fig. 5, no. 26, A.D. 105-200). The 'straightness' of the lower curve of the G is an occasional early feature (cf. fig. 3, no. 11, Xanten). It is, however, by no means an invariable early characteristic (cf. fig. 3, no. 9, Xanten) and is also found in later examples (cf. fig. 3, no. 5, Caerleon).

Fig. 3, no. 5, LEG. II. AVG. retro. Caerleon, fig. 6, 45; dated to A.D. 105-200 and to 200-300. Although much later than the Seaton stamp, it closely resembles it in many respects. Note the cursive L, the 'straightness' of the lower curve of the G, and the ligatured AV.

Fig. 3, no. 6, LEG. IX HISP. Hillywood, Northants. On a flanged tile, put to secondary use in an interment and associated with a 'rilled' pot of late first century date. The stamp is not unlike one found at York, which cannot be earlier than A.D. 71.

Fig. 3, nos. 7-11. These are examples of the tiles of Legs. V and XV from the Claudius-Nero lager at Xanten. Their date being well attested, they have been illustrated for purposes of comparison. Epigraphically they exhibit no distinctive differences from the Britannic examples, for they have, as has been shown, many features in common. For example, in nos. 7 and 10 the LEG. is abbreviated to L., as in the Leicester stamp, no. 2.

Fig. 3, nos. 12 and 13, LEG. XIII. and LEG. XIII. G. MV. Mainz. As far as can be gathered, no tile-stamp of the fourteenth legion has been found in Britain. This legion was stationed at Mainz both before and after its sojourn in Britain. All its tile-stamps, as found at Mainz, are post A.D. 70, whether occurring with or without the title *Martia Victrix*.

¹ Prof. R. Newstead informs me that two examples occur at Chester. See also Caerleon, fig. 6, 36, an 'Antoniniana' tile dating A.D. 212-22 (cf. S. N. Miller, *Archaeologia*, lxxviii, 159-60).

² The distance of this tile from Caerleon, and other considerations, practically exclude the possibility of importation.

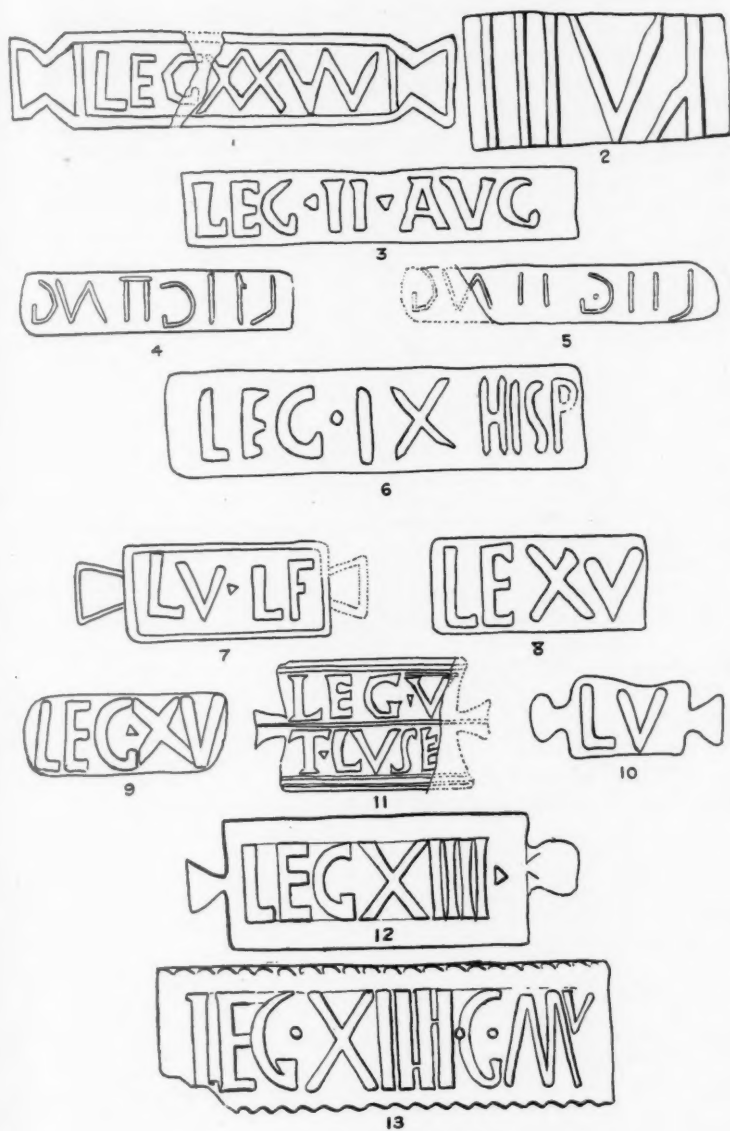


FIG. 3. Legionary tiles ($\frac{1}{2}$)

The above analysis demonstrates that the epigraphy of legionary tile-stamps of the first and second centuries furnishes little, if any, material which admits of definite application for dating purposes. Therefore, in view of the historical and other evidence detailed in the text of this paper, it is highly probable that the tile-stamps of Legs. II (Seaton), VIII, IX, and XX represent a stage of the Roman advance in the Claudian period. The Kempsey tile may possibly be an importation from the relatively near tilerly of Caerleon. Alternatively, a vexillation of Leg. II may have been stationed here during the Claudius-Nero period.

I wish to express my indebtedness to Messrs. E. Birley, C. Green, V. E. Nash-Williams, Prof. R. Newstead, and Dr. F. Oswald (who is responsible for the scale-drawings of the legionary tile-stamps). My thanks are also due to the directors of the British, Bristol, Leicester, Northampton, Peterborough, Taunton, and Worcester Museums.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Arch. Camb.* *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, June, 1932: *Caerleon*.
Bonn. Jahrb. *Bonner Jahrbücher*.
B.M. Cat. British Museum, *Catalogue of Roman Pottery in the Department of Antiquities*.
C.I.L. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
Drag. Dragendorff.
Eph. Epigr. *Ephemeris Epigraphica*.
J.R.S. *Journal of Roman Studies*.
O. and P. Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*.
P.-W. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.
Ritt. Ritterling, *Das Frühromische Lager bei Hofheim im Taunus*.

Limoges Enamel Altar-cruets of the Thirteenth Century

By PHILIP NELSON, M.D., F.S.A.

ALTAR-CRUEETS in early times were known by a variety of names, *ama*,¹ *amula*,² *ampulla*,³ *fiala*,⁴ *phiala*,⁵ *potum*,⁶ *urceus*,⁷ *urceolus*,⁸ *vas*,⁹ and *vasculum*.¹⁰ These sacred vessels were made in pairs, in order to contain the wine and the water for use in the chalice¹¹ and for the subsequent ceremonial ablutions, and, since the laity did not receive the chalice, these altar-cruets were in consequence of relatively small size.

Two reasons may be advanced for the mixing of water and wine for filling the chalice. It would appear, in the time of our Lord, that the wine¹² used in the Passover-feast was red,¹³ and that,

¹ 'Donavit Amas argenteas duas, pensantes singulæ libras denas.' *Anastasio Bibliothecarii Vitæ Romanorum Pontificum*, in S. Silvestro P.P.

² 'Amulas superauratas paria duo.' *Anastasio Bibliothecarii Vitæ Romanorum Pontificum*, in Gregorio III P.P.

³ 'Una ampulla argenti vetus deaurata quam Rex deferre solebat ut credebatur.' *Liber quotidianus contrarotulatoris Garderobæ*, anno regni Regis Edwardi primi vicesimo octavo (1299-1300), ed. J. Nicholls, 1787, p. 348.

⁴ To the abbey of St. Alban, Domina Petronilla de Benstede 'obtulit etiam duas fialas quarum corpora cristallina sunt, orificia vero et pedes argentea, quæ gemmis et margaritis ornantur.' Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* ii, 221 (ed. 1819).

⁵ 'In ecclesiis debent esse . . . phiala una cum vino et alia cum aqua.' Johannes de Garlandia, *Dictionarius*, c. 1280.

⁶ A.D. 1323. 'Nicolaus de Nigella, aurifaber Parisiensis, pro uno cippo argenteo esmailato ad tripidem et duobus potis, uno ad vinum et altero ad aquam, liberatis Regi.' Laborde, *Notice des émaux du Louvre*, part ii, p. 6.

⁷ A.D. 787. 'Hic etiam ditionibus ecclesiæ dimisit . . . calicem argenteum deauratum unum, urceos Alexandrinos cum aquamanilibus duos.' *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium*, ed. G. H. Pertz, *Monum. Germ.* ii, 290.

⁸ 'Accipiant etc.: Urceolum, in quo datur eis potestas infundendi aquam in calicem dominicum.' Stephanus Eduensis, *Lib. de Sacram. altaris*, cap. 4, 'De Acolytorum ordinatione'.

⁹ A.D. 1294. Inventory of Anagni: 'Unum vas argenteum deauratum ad effundendum aquam in calicem.'

¹⁰ See p. 51: 'Dat vasculum denuo ministranti', etc.

¹¹ Gilbert, bishop of Limerick c. 1090, states that all priests should possess: 'Ampulla cum vino, et altera cum aqua.' (*P.L.* clix, 1001.) John of Avranches, archbishop of Rouen, wrote: 'Cantor aquam linteo coopertam in festis diacono deferat, quam diaconus vino misceat; aliis diebus ministrat eam acolythus.' *De Off. Eccl.*, p. 19 (Rouen, 1679).

¹² Merum.

¹³ Mark xiv, 24, 'This is my blood'. John de Burgh, c. 1385, wrote in his *Pupilla Oculi*, concerning the use of red wine for the Eucharist, as follows: 'propter expressionem et similitudinem sanguinis'.

due to Hellenic usage, it was diluted with water,¹ and such diluted wine would be used to fill the cup at the institution of the Eucharist. That there was water present on the occasion of the Last Supper is proved by John xiii, 5: 'After that He poureth water into a bason and began to wash the disciples' feet.'

Again, on the death of Christ upon the cross, as related by St. John xix, 34, 'one of the soldiers with a spear pierced His side² and forthwith came there out blood and water'.

The question of the admixture of water and wine was matter for consideration at the Council of Trent, as is evidenced by the following:

De aqua miscenda in Calice

Caput VIII

'Monet deinde sancta Synodus, præceptum esse ab Ecclesiæ Sacerdotibus, ut aquam vino in calice offerendo miscerent: tum quod Christum Dominum ita fecisse credatur, tum etiam, quia e latere eius aqua simul cum sanguine exierit, quod Sacramentum hac mixtione recolitur, et cum aqua in Apocalypsi beati Johannis, populi dicantur ipsius populi fidelis, cum capite Christo, unio repræsentatur.'

The union of Christ with the Church is also stressed in a later passage: 'Aqua mixta vino in calice, repræsentat unionem populi cum Christo'; concerning which St. Augustine tells us: 'mortuo Christo lancea percutitur latus, ut profluant sacramenta quibus formetur Ecclesia'.

Altar-cruets were made of rock-crystal,³ and of various metals, gold,⁴ silver,³ and copper-gilt, and it is of the last variety, enriched with coloured enamels from the workshops of Limoges, in the thirteenth century, that this paper proposes to treat. As regards metal altar-cruets, it was the practice, in order to distinguish their contents, to set a ruby in the lid of the vessel containing the sacramental wine, whilst the cruet containing the water was enriched with a pearl.⁴ At the end of the fourteenth century

¹ II Maccabees xv, 39, 'wine mingled with water is pleasant'. The water used in the Passover feast was probably hot. *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 5320. This rite is still practised by the Orthodox Greek Church, the vessel employed being called the *thermerion*.

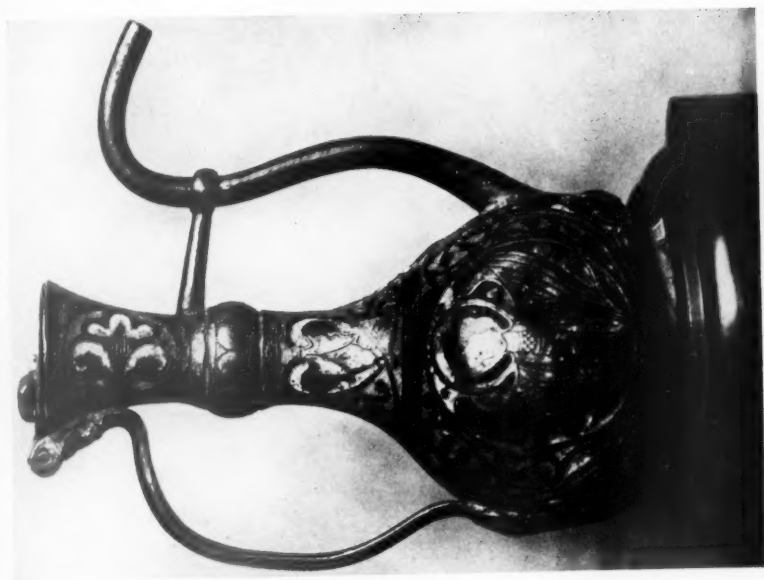
² *The Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*, ed. Harris Cowper: 'Judas . . . struck the right side of Jesus . . . that side . . . the Jews pierced with a spear.'

³ Geoffrey de Gorham, abbot of St. Albans, c. 1125, 'Dedit quoque huic ecclesiæ ampullas tres argenteas, et unam chrysellinam.' Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* ii, 185, note (ed. 1819).

⁴ Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i, 648. John de Hotham, bishop of Ely, gave to the cathedral, c. 1336: 'calicem aureum cum duobus urceolis aureis, et in urceolo pro vino impositus erat lapis preciosus vocatus Rubye, et in urceolo pro aqua, optima



2. Cruet: Budapest (no. 3)



1. Cruet: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (no. 1)



3. Cruet: Belfast Museum (no. 5)



2. Cruet: Bargello, Florence (no. 4)



1. Cruet: Budapest (no. 2)

the contents were distinguished by engraving A and V on the lids of the cruets for AQVA and VINVM respectively.

It is evident that in early times the cruets hung beside the altar, doubtless by their handles, as appears from the following:

'Dum missas ageret, lecto evangelio, vas quod consuetudinaliter juxta altare cum vino pendebat, in calicem versat, sed vinum ita congelatum erat ut nec gutta proflueret. Dat vasculum denuo ministranti ut glaciem ipse resolvat' (*Gesta abbatum Lobiensium*, c. 1050).¹

The wine employed for the chalice was to be of good quality and only a small quantity of water was to be added:

'Vinum sani saporis, non acidum, nedum acetum, in calice infundatur, aqua modica vino admisceatur, ita quod a vino absorbeatur.'²

It is remarkable that, so far as one is aware, no enamel altar-cruet occurs anterior to the thirteenth century, whilst of the thirteenth century no pair of enamel altar-cruets is known to exist. Only seven dissimilar examples appear to have survived to our times, and they are consequently among the rarest enamels extant. It would seem probable that the majority of the thirteenth-century enamel altar-cruets were enriched with sacred subjects, but that secular scenes also appeared is evidenced by the example which formerly existed at Anagni, c. 1300, *temp.* Boniface VIII, on which was portrayed the incident of Phyllis and Aristotle, so well known from the Lay of Aristotle.³ Finally, ornamental leaf-work was also employed, though rarely, for the enrichment of Limoges altar-cruets.

As already remarked, there are but seven Limoges enamel altar-cruets of the thirteenth century known, which are now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, in the National Museum, Budapest, in the Bargello, Florence, in the Belfast Municipal Museum, in the castle of Goluchow, Posen, and finally the cruet, formerly in the Pitt-Rivers Collection, now in that of the writer.

It will be noted how closely related are all seven in general

margarita.' The use of the pearl was peculiarly suitable for indicating the water-cruet, since it was a jewel of aqueous origin. It was believed to be generated by the dew received from above and was thus properly included in a thirteenth-century Apocalyptic Lapidary, Revelations xxi, 21. Studer and Evans, *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries*, p. 275. The majority of the pearls mounted in the middle ages in western Europe were probably derived from the fresh-water mussel, *Anodon cygnea*, frequently found in Scottish and English rivers.

¹ E. Rupin, *L'Œuvre de Limoges*, p. 528.

² Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, 623. 'Constitut. Willielmi de Bleys', c. A.D. 1229.

³ Examples of this subject may be seen at Caen, Lausanne, Lyons, Rouen, and elsewhere.

design. All had a pear-shaped body and sprang from a circular ornamental foot, whilst from the lower part of the vessel emerged a long narrow spout, which where it curved outwards was attached to the neck of the cruet by a short arm. Near where the neck of the vase began to enlarge was a roll-like expansion. Behind the mouth of the cruet was a vertical piece of metal, which formed both the hinge for the lid and a point of attachment for the handle. The lids were flat and adorned with a distinguishing gem. The shape of these vessels was clearly derived from an Islamic source, and the long narrow spout happily permitted the outflow of the contents to be suitably regulated.

We will now consider these seven altar-cruets in greater detail.

1. *Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*

This example now measures only $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height. It is very probable that it formerly stood upon a circular foot, for its lower part is engraved with just such a flower-like ornament as appears on the cruets preserved at Florence and Belfast. The outcurving handle is flat and both it and the lid are original, the latter still retaining its distinguishing gem. The body of the vessel is decorated with a demi-angel, within a circle surrounded by leafy scrolls; above is an acanthus-leaf. The neck is enriched with an acanthus-leaf in enamels, whilst the metal roll is engraved with large pearls (pl. xviii, 1).

2, 3. *National Museum, Budapest.*

There are here two altar-cruets,¹ nos. 2 and 3, both in a poor state of preservation. Each has lost its foot, lid, spout, and handle, whilst no. 3 has also lost its upper portion above the roll. These cruets are as follows:

No. 2. This vessel, which now measures 6 in. in height, still retains some traces of its original enamel. It is enriched with a demi-angel in a circle, placed within an ellipse, about which are leafy sprays. Above is an acanthus-leaf with sprays of foliage. The roll bears large engraved pearls, above and below which is a dentate design reserved in the metal. Beneath the mouth is an acanthus-leaf (pl. xix, 1).

No. 3. This much damaged example now measures only $4\frac{15}{16}$ in. in height and is entirely devoid of enamel. It is decorated with a demi-angel within a circle and is surrounded with scroll-work, above which is an ornamental undulating band. Beneath the roll, which is engraved with small pearls, was much enamelled work, arranged in five zones (pl. xviii, 2).

¹ My thanks are due to Mr. C. C. Oman for this reference.

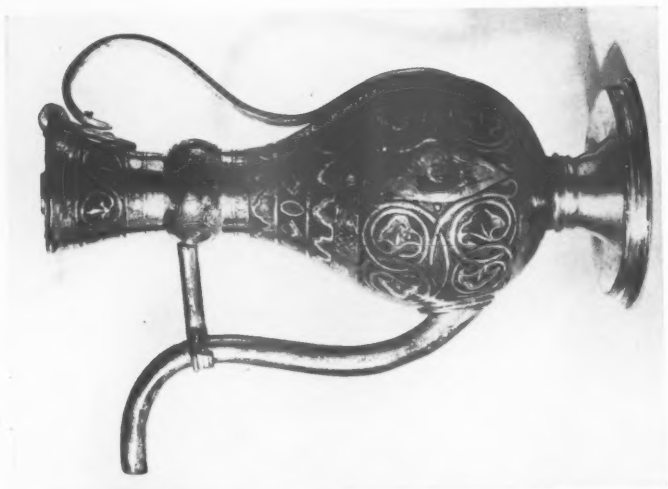


The Annunciation

Cruet: Czartoryski collection, Goluchow (no. 6)



The Visitation



Cruet: Nelson collection (no. 7)

4. *Bargello, Florence.*

This cruet is somewhat modified in design from nos. 1 and 2, and, although it has lost its handle, it still retains its original foot and lid. This example, which measures $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. in height, has leafy scrollwork beneath the plain roll, above which is a dentate design. Beneath the mouth is an acanthus-leaf (pl. xix, 2).

5. *Belfast Municipal Museum.*¹

This cruet, in the Grainger Collection, which was found in 1842 at Churchwalls, Bright, Co. Down, has lost its foot, spout, handle, and lid, but still retains considerable traces of its enamels. It is adorned with a demi-angel, on a turquoise-blue background, within a circle, surrounded by leafy scrolls, on deep-blue enamel. Above is a wavy band, below a reticulate ornament of four zones. Beneath the metal roll are two bands of dentate design, on turquoise-blue enamel, separated by plain metal. Below the mouth, on deep blue, is leaf-work reserved in the metal, below which is a dentate design, on turquoise-blue (pl. xix, 3).

The definite popularity of an angel for the adornment of altar-cruets is doubtless due to the following passage from Luke xxii, 42, 43:

'Father, if Thou be willing, remove this cup from Me: nevertheless not My will, but Thine be done. And there appeared an angel unto Him from heaven, strengthening Him.'

6. *The Czartoryski Collection, Castle of Goluchow, Posen.*²

This pleasing cruet, which has lost its original handle, foot, and lid, measures $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. in height. The body of the vase is enriched on one side with The Annunciation and on the other with The Visitation, each within a circle, on a turquoise-blue background. About these two circles are leafy scrolls set on dark blue, and above each is a small demi-angel. The metal roll is engraved with small pearls, above which is an acanthus-leaf in enamel (pl. xx).

7. *Nelson Collection.*

This example, formerly in the Pitt-Rivers Collection, measures $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. in height. The vase, which rests on a conical circular foot, is adorned with beautiful interlacing leafy scrolls, arranged in four panels. Above are four ornamental bands, three of enamel and one of engraved work. The metal roll is enriched with a

¹ For this reference my thanks are due to Mr. D. A. J. Buxton, F.S.A.

² My thanks are due to M. Marquet de Vasselot for this reference.

leafy scroll, above and beneath which are narrow bands of engraved pearls. Beneath the mouth is a blue enamelled band, having a scroll of foliage reserved in the metal. The metal arm which supports the spout terminates in a human right hand. The groundwork of this cruet is of dark blue enamel, whilst the leaves and other ornaments are in pale blue, green, red, yellow, and white. The lid was formerly decorated with a jewel, which formed the centre of an elaborate quatrefoil ornament. The fixed hinge is a restoration. *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom*, 1858, edited by J. B. Waring, contains a section from the pen of the late Sir A. Wollaston Franks, on 'Vitreous Art'. In this work, on p. 26, occurs the following passage: 'The cruets for containing the eucharistic wine and water were also enamelled, as is shown by the specimen in the collection of the Marquis of Breadalbane, pl. VIII, fig. 2',¹ and if this illustration is compared with that of the Pitt-Rivers cruet, there can be no doubt that they are both derived from the same vessel (pl. XXI).

For the photographs of the various altar-cruets and for permission to publish them I am indebted to the Directors of the Belfast Municipal Museum; the National Museum, Budapest; the Bargello, Florence; the Czartoryski Collection, Goluchow; and to Les Amis de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

In concluding this note on Limoges enamelled altar-cruets, one may remark that their rarity, utility, and beauty might justify the quotation:

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.

¹ In the illustration in *Art Treasures* the lid of the cruet is omitted.

*A Levallois Side-scraper from the Brickearth at
Yiewsley, Middlesex*

By A. D. LACAILLE

OF late the Levallois industries of the Thames valley have attracted notice, and an endeavour has been made to show analogies with artifacts of this culture from northern France. In describing implements recovered from the deposits north of and slightly above the 100-ft. contour near Iver the present author drew particular attention to Levallois relics found in the red and grey brickearth overlying solifluxion gravel, with stratified gravel below.¹ The difference between palaeoliths from the last named and those from the brickearth at Iver was commented on, and at the same time parallels were drawn with the specimens found near Yiewsley.²

Among the most noteworthy artifacts from the red brickearth at Iver were a few bifacial and flake-implements comparing with pieces assignable in France to a late Middle Levallois culture-phase. While the Yiewsley brickearth has given flakes like those noted from the analogous deposit at Iver, no mention has so far been made of bifacial implements from the red brickearth in the similarly constituted terrace east of the river Colne. It seems opportune, therefore, to record an artifact from here, which, although worked on one face only and exhibiting other features of interest, was taken from the lower part of a deposit of red brickearth some 4 ft. in thickness. By workmanship, facies, and *état physique* this tool may be ascribed to the same culture-phase as those found in like conditions a few miles to the west.

The Yiewsley specimen (pl. xxii), which may fittingly be described as a side-scraper, is fashioned from a massive oval flake of dark greenish flint struck from a large core. It is $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide, and nearly 1 in. thick. The sides of the upper surface are delicately worked, the right having apparently been primarily dressed by the removal of fairly wide short flakes struck at right angles at regular intervals along the edge, presumably by means of a stone hammer, as the jagged edges near the points of percussion testify. The opposite side is finished so as to form a convex scraping edge, but to achieve this a wooden or bone instrument was employed, as appears from the small shallow flake-scars which contrast with the bolder ones on the right side.

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* xvi, 429-31.

² *Ibid.*

A well-defined elliptical cavity in the upper surface is due to thermal action, an analogous fracture feature, with a crack running across one side, being visible also on the bulbar face. This in itself is remarkable, as the deep natural scar of fresh appearance is distinctly later than the main face indicated by separation from its parent core. This original surface bears a mottled patination, which is not, however, the only alteration discernible. An almost circular hollow, due to thermal fracture, impairs the original bulbar face. The surface of this cavity is patinated, but less so than the large area in which it occurs. Although the edges are sharp, the flake-ridges on the treated upper face are slightly lustrous and in precisely the same condition as those of other late Middle Levallois artifacts from the red brickearth here and at Iver. The butt of this tool, with prominent bulb of percussion, bears a number of facets characteristic of flakes detached from typical Levallois cores.

The Pleistocene deposits in the neighbourhood of Yiewsley have already been described.¹ Their topographical, geological, and archaeological similarities to those near Iver, which have been commented on, confirm the belief that on the Buckinghamshire and Middlesex sides of the Colne there exists a terrace intermediate between the Boyn Hill and Taplow stages.² Still, it will not be out of place to summarize the conditions generally prevailing where the artifact to which this note refers was found. At Yiewsley the average altitude of the surface of the terrace, which yielded the tool illustrated, is about 110 ft. O.D., and at the site of discovery it stands 118 ft. above Ordnance Datum, or about 60 ft. above the nearest point on the river Thames (and nearly 40 ft. above the river Colne). Including the topsoil, the deposits, as exposed in several gravel-pits, are generally 15 ft. in thickness. They rest on a bench of London Clay 50 ft. above the Thames, or at an altitude of just over 100 ft. O.D.

North, north-east, and east of Yiewsley the ground seems to rise to another terrace consisting of uncapped river gravels. Between this and the excavation in which the side-scraper was found,

¹ In ascending order the sequence of the deposits exposed in a typical section is thus represented: (1) stratified gravel ill sorted at the base; (2) solifluxion gravel; (3) red brickearth, sometimes yellowish in the lower part, containing some small angular flints; (4) local capping of greyish loam with a few angular flints, mostly in the lower part; (5) topsoil. The principal references to the local deposits and their archaeological contents are: W. J. Allen Brown in *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, vol. xiv, pt. iv, pp. 164-6; J. G. Marsden in *Proc. Prehist. Soc. East Anglia*, vol. v, pt. iii, p. 297; J. P. T. Burchell in *Antiq. Journ.* xiv, 33-9.

² W. B. P. King and K. P. Oakley in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* (1936), vol. ii, pt. i, pp. 72-3.



Levallois side-scraper from Yiewsley, Middlesex ($5\frac{1}{2}$ in. long)

river deposits, thickly overlain by brickearth (surface altitude 133 ft. O.D.), are shown on the map of the Geological Survey¹ without giving the age of the brickearth. Moreover, the map leads one to infer that the extensive gravel spreads above the Taplow terrace in the district immediately east of the Colne form but one continuous deposit belonging to the Boyn Hill stage. However, by comparison with those above the 100-ft. contour at Iver, the gravels under the brickearth east of Yiewsley would be referable to the same stage as the gravels under the brickearth which yielded the implement. Locally this brickearth is overlain by a greyish, structureless loam of varying thickness. Where this occurs its junction with the underlying red brickearth is clearly defined.

Corresponding nearly to the 100-ft. contour west of Yiewsley the slope to the Taplow terrace, which is here covered by brick-earth, is parallel to the course of the Colne.² A little way north of the Great Western Railway the southern demarcation of what is regarded as the intermediate terrace describes a sinuous line closely following the 100-ft. contour.

Near Yiewsley each feature, geological and topographical, has a counterpart in the neighbourhood of Iver, pointing to the existence in both districts of two terraces above the Taplow terrace. Further, there is no material difference in the respective altitudes above Ordnance Datum and the Thames.

It has been demonstrated that the Palaeolithic contents of the stratified gravels in the terrace above the 100-ft. contour at Iver and Yiewsley do not differ. The discovery in red brickearth at Yiewsley of a side-scraper of late Middle Levallois facies, worked much like certain artifacts from a similarly constituted layer at Iver, goes to confirm the affinity of the deposits immediately above the Taplow terrace in the two places. Hence the large implement under discussion is one more specimen of the Levallois culture, which recent researches in the Thames valley have shown to be prolific in type and of wide distribution.

¹ *Map of the Geological Survey of England and Wales* (1 in. to the mile), third edition, Sheet 255.

² The heavy capping of brickearth overlying the Taplow terrace is part of the immense spread eastward from beyond Slough.

Quelques Sculptures anglaises d'Albâtre conservées en Belgique

Par JEAN SQUILBECK

ON ne s'est guère occupé jusqu'ici des albâtres anglais conservés en Belgique. Ils sont pourtant nombreux et le plus souvent pleins d'intérêt.

Nous n'avons plus de retables complets comme ceux que le Comte Biver a signalés dès 1910, dans l'*Archaeological Journal*. Ils ont été vraisemblablement démembrés par les Iconoclastes qui ont fait, dans les anciens Pays-Bas, des ravages peut-être moins systématiques que ceux des Puritains anglais, mais hélas aggravés par les invasions et les guerres.

Les fragments qui subsistent en grand nombre, comme nous pourrions le constater, témoignent donc d'une vogue extraordinaire des albâtres anglais dans notre pays. Ce n'est pas seulement dans la région flamande voisine de la mer et en relations commerciales suivies avec l'Angleterre, qu'ils ont pénétré, mais on les retrouve aussi dans la partie wallonne du pays.

Des archéologues de valeur ont cru retrouver dans des monuments belges, des traces d'une influence des tailleurs d'albâtre anglais. Mais les sculptures dont ils font état sont antérieures à l'expansion des œuvres des ateliers anglais. Nous ne pouvons donc pas en tenir compte.

D'un autre côté, le Professeur Prior et M. Gardner signalent que selon certains archéologues les retables flamands en bois, qui furent fort répandus dès le début du xv^e siècle, auraient été une source d'inspiration pour les ouvriers de Nottingham.¹ Nous n'avons pas rencontré un exemple frappant de cette influence, mais nous y croyons facilement. Les Anglais et les Flamands pratiquaient la sculpture des retables comme une industrie. Il y aura eu cette émulation, une concurrence même, entre les ateliers. Les Anglais auront senti la nécessité de renouveler leurs modèles quand ils eurent à craindre la vogue naissante des huchiers flamands.

Devant certaines œuvres incontestablement flamandes d'origine, mais d'un caractère anglais fort accentué, comme la 'Trinité' de l'ancien jubé d'Hoogstraten, nous pouvons nous demander si des artisans britanniques ne sont pas venus se fixer dans notre

¹ Prior et Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure-sculpture in England*, London, 1912, p. 485.

pays, pour sauver leur industrie interrompue par les changements religieux du xvi^e siècle.

Mais, avant d'approfondir ces intéressants problèmes, il faudra faire un relevé des œuvres anglaises que la Belgique possède encore. Il serait impossible d'épuiser le sujet en un seul article. De même, nous n'avons pas visé à donner une chronologie rigoureuse des œuvres. Sir Eric Maclagan, dont l'autorité est si grande, a reconnu lui-même combien il était difficile de les dater avec certitude.¹ Les costumes et les armures, qui sont presque nos seuls indices, peuvent nous induire en erreur. Les artistes, en reproduisant des thèmes qui se sont transmis de génération en génération, auront souvent été amenés à reproduire des modes surannées.

Les œuvres de la période caractérisée par des dais crénelés que l'on date le plus généralement d'entre environ 1350 et 1410, et que le Dr Nelson place un peu plus tard,² sont rares ici. Nous pouvons cependant en signaler deux bons exemples fort bien conservés.

C'est, tout d'abord, une 'Mise au tombeau' (pl. xxiii, 1) appartenant aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire au Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles.³ Il nous reste peu de représentations du dernier épisode de la passion, dues aux *alabasterers* de cette époque. La composition est plus simple que dans les sculptures plus récentes et, à notre avis, bien supérieure, grâce à son unité parfaite. Tous les gestes convergent vers le Christ gisant sur son tombeau, qui placé en oblique, permet de traiter avec ampleur le sujet malgré l'espace très restreint. L'invention était trop heureuse pour ne pas être reprise. Mais, dans la suite, on a cru bien faire en comblant le vide laissé au bas de la scène, au pied du tombeau, par une figure de femme effondrée par la douleur. Marie Madeleine pleurant le Christ est une de ces figures que les artisans de Nottingham au talent incontestable, mais limité, auraient dû s'interdire.

Nous pensons donc que la 'Mise au tombeau' de Bruxelles est une des plus anciennes de la série. On dira peut-être que le travail est négligé. Les visages sont en effet un peu sommaires, les draperies peu détaillées. C'est, pensons-nous, l'effet d'un

¹ Sir Eric Maclagan, 'An English Altarpiece in the Victoria and Albert Museum', *Burlington Magazine*, xxxvi (1920), p. 63.

² P. Nelson, 'English Alabasters of the Embattled Type', *Archaeological Journal*, 1918, pp. 310 à 334.

³ Jos. Destrée, 'Les Sculptures en albâtre de Nottingham', *Annales de la société d'archéologie de Bruxelles*, xxiii (1909), p. 458, fig. 11.

nettoyage qui n'a pas fait disparaître entièrement la polychromie, mais qui a atténué le relief.

Le second exemple, une 'Adoration des Mages' (pl. xxiii, 2), est aussi intéressant. Il se trouve au Musée du Steen à Anvers. La composition est traditionnelle. Le Dr Hildburgh a donné des renseignements intéressants sur son origine.¹ La Vierge est couchée au centre de la scène, comme dans une Nativité. Elle tient l'enfant Jésus, qui vêtu de la robe dont parle les évangiles apocryphes, prend dans ses mains menues l'offrande du mage agenouillé. Le second des voyageurs montre de la main l'étoile miraculeuse au plus jeune des trois compagnons. Ce dernier est vêtu de la vaste houppelande à larges manches, importée de Bourgogne en Angleterre au dernier quart du xiv^e siècle.² D'après certains archéologues, les ceintures sur les hanches, ainsi que la porte le jeune mage, auraient disparu, pour un moment du moins, après les premières années du xv^e siècle. C'est certainement exact pour les Pays-Bas; mais nous n'avons pu le contrôler pour la Grande Bretagne. Nous croyons cependant que ce dernier argument n'est pas strictement nécessaire, et que l'on sera d'accord avec nous pour fixer la date de la sculpture entre 1380 et 1410.

St Joseph occupe une place modeste. Il est endormi au pied de la composition. Vraisemblablement, on a voulu le représenter au moment où un songe céleste le prévient du danger que court le Messie, menacé par la jalousie d'Hérode. Les fidèles du Moyen Age comprenaient, sans peine, le sens de cet effacement du charpentier de Nazareth. L'âne et le bœuf sont d'une naïveté qui étonne chez cet artiste qui a réussi à donner à Notre Dame un profil si pur et si noble. Nous connaissons des bas-reliefs bien inférieurs, où les animaux sont beaucoup plus réalistement traités.

L'église de Loenhout (Prov. d'Anvers) possède un 'St Georges terrassant le dragon', dont l'origine anglaise n'a non plus jamais été signalée jusqu'ici. L'inventaire archéologique de la province d'Anvers le datait des environs de 1374. En effet, Daniel de Bouchout, le seigneur du village, fit cette année-là une donation en faveur de l'autel de la gilde de St Georges. Mais il faut croire que l'on attendit longtemps avant d'utiliser le fruit de sa générosité.

Nous pensons en effet que la sculpture doit prendre place entre 1415 et 1450. Le relief est déjà surmonté d'un dais découpé au lieu d'un couronnement crénelé. Mais celui-ci ne fait qu'un avec l'image et n'est pas indépendant comme à la période sui-

¹ W. L. Hildburgh, 'Notes on some English Alabaster Carving', *Antiq. Journ.* iii (1923), 32 et sqq.

² F. M. Kelly et R. Schwabe, *A Short History of Costume*, London, 1931, p. 26.



1. Bruxelles : Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire
Mise au tombeau



2. Anvers : Musée archéologique. Adoration des Mages



1. Tervueren: Église paroissiale. Couronnement de la Vierge



2. Audenaerde: Ci-devant collection Lambert
Saints

vante. De plus, l'armure du saint correspond exactement à celles que l'on voit sur les tombes de l'époque lancastrienne (1415-50).¹ Le bassinnet a fait place à une salade. Les épaules et les coudes sont protégés spécialement par des plaques de fer.

On relève encore des traces importantes de la polychromie originale. La qualité de la matière est assez médiocre. Le style est archaïsant et naïf. Le saint a un visage poupin. L'artiste ignore totalement le respect des proportions. St Georges monte un cheval minuscule, et, par contre, il manie une épée de géant. Ce sont sans doute ces détails qui avaient autorisé les archéologues, qui ignoraient l'origine anglaise du fragment de retable, de le faire remonter assez haut.

Ce n'est que vers le milieu du xv^e siècle que la vogue des albâtres anglais prend de l'ampleur dans les Pays-Bas. Peut-être que le mariage de Charles le Téméraire et de Marguerite d'York en 1468 contribua à les faire connaître. Cette princesse anglaise a laissé dans ses états le souvenir d'une protectrice des sciences et des arts.

C'est le Musée des Beaux-Arts à Gand qui possède le plus de bons exemples de la production de cette période. En 1903, un groupe de mécènes lui offrit une 'Adoration des Mages' ayant fait naguère partie de la collection van den Bogaerde au château de Heeswyck (Pays-Bas). Elle fut cataloguée à son entrée comme une œuvre italienne. On ignorait, en effet, encore alors la véritable origine des albâtres anglais.

Le thème de l'Adoration des Mages est celui que nous avons analysé plus haut, mais transposé dans un style plus récent.

L'albâtre est d'assez bonne qualité et presque blanc. Malheureusement, le nettoyage complet de la polychromie a usé les arêtes et altéré quelque peu le caractère de l'œuvre.

Bien plus intéressant est le 'Baptême du Christ' légué au même musée par M. Scribe.

Tout d'abord son iconographie mérite une étude spéciale. Le Christ est descendu dans le Jourdain et le fleuve, par respect, sort de son lit pour entourer le Sauveur comme un manteau. Le R.P. de Jerphanion a très bien exposé l'origine de cette représentation légendaire très en faveur chez les Byzantins.² De l'Orient, elle est passée en Occident, où on l'a copiée, apparemment sans la comprendre. On en connaît de nombreux exemples pour l'époque romane. Ils deviennent progressivement de plus

¹ A. Gardner, *A Handbook of English Sculpture*, Cambridge, 1935, pp. 69 et sqq.

² R.P. de Jerphanion, S.J., *La Voix des monuments*, Paris-Bruxelles, 1930, pp. 169 et sqq.

en plus rares. Les sculpteurs d'albâtre anglais sont certainement parmi les derniers à représenter le Christ entouré d'une cloche d'eau. St Jean verse, d'un geste assez maladroit, sur la tête du Sauveur, l'eau purificatrice contenue dans un vase. Un ange tient la tunique qui fait de beaux plis. Dieu le Père apparaît dans l'angle supérieur de la composition, à travers les nuages.

La sculpture est fort belle et, de plus, dans un parfait état de conservation. Le relief est net. On relève des traces très importantes de la polychromie originale qui dut avoir été fort belle.

Un 'Couronnement de la Vierge' ayant certainement appartenu à un même retable, fait pendant au 'Baptême du Christ' que nous venons de signaler. Elle a exactement ses dimensions. Nous reconnaissons la main de l'artiste du relief dont nous venons de parler. C'est aussi le même état de conservation qui nous permet d'admirer l'œuvre dans son état original ou presque, avec un souvenir de son premier éclat.

Notre Dame est à genoux devant le Père, le Fils et le Saint-Esprit. L'art français la représente toujours assise à la droite de son fils, pour recevoir le diadème, symbole de sa suréminente dignité. En Angleterre, on a commencé par reproduire ce thème. Ce n'est qu'au cours de la seconde moitié du xv^e siècle qu'est née, très probablement sous l'influence du théâtre chrétien, la façon spécifiquement anglaise de représenter le couronnement que nous avons ici.¹

Les deux sculptures doivent donc se placer entre 1450 et 1500.

La collection du Major Lambert à Audenaerde, près de Gand, dispersée en 1926, comprenait une plaque d'albâtre venant de Diest (Brabant). Elle représente St Pierre, St Paul et St André. Derrière eux, on voit un pape, un évêque, un roi, un martyr, et deux moines (pl. xxiv, 2).

Les organisateurs de la vente ont hautement revendiqué l'objet pour l'art flamand en écartant dédaigneusement les prétentions des archéologues qui voulaient en faire une œuvre irlandaise (*sic*). Il n'y a pourtant pas moyen de douter de son origine anglaise. C'est un fragment d'un de ces retables bien connus dits du 'Te Deum', montrant, comme dans l'hymne de St Ambroise, la foule des élus glorifiant la Ste Trinité.

L'exécution est bonne, mais sans valoir celle des deux reliefs précédents. L'état de conservation est satisfaisant. Nous ignorons où se trouve aujourd'hui l'œuvre. Elle a peut-être repris le chemin de l'Angleterre.

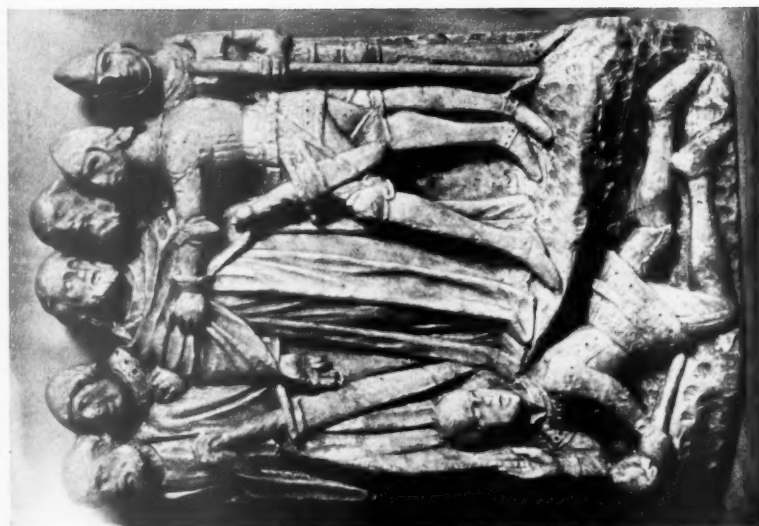
¹ Prior et Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 65.



3. Verviers : Musée de la ville
Couronnement de la Vierge



2. Arlon : Musée archéologique
Couronnement de la Vierge



1. Liège : Musée Diocésain. Arrestation du Christ



1. Chef de St Jean

Bruxelles: Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire



2. Chef de St Jean

L'église de Tervueren, près de Bruxelles, possède deux fragments de retable provenant de la collection Malfait à Bruxelles, d'où ils passèrent dans les mains du curé Van de Zande (†1878) qui en fit don à son église.

L'inventaire archéologique du Brabant rédigé à une époque où l'on ignorait encore tout des albâtres anglais, en fait des œuvres du XIII^e siècle. Le style est en effet fort archaïsant pour la seconde moitié du XV^e siècle, dont ils datent en réalité (pl. xxiv, 1).

Nous avons une fois de plus le 'Couronnement de la Ste Vierge' représenté à la manière anglaise. Notre Dame fait face. Ses vêtements tombent avec de très beaux plis, très profonds. Son visage a quelque chose d'énigmatique. Son allongement très prononcé nous fait immédiatement penser au retable de South Kensington publié par Sir Eric Maclagan.¹ La parenté s'accroît encore dans les figures du Père, du Fils et du St Esprit qui sont presque identiques.

Il faut certainement ranger ce relief parmi les bons albâtres anglais. C'est certes une œuvre industrielle, mais d'un caractère artistique remarquable. Il y a un mélange d'élégance raffinée et de maladresse qui frappe surtout ceux qui ne sont pas habitués à la vue des albâtres anglais.

La plaque a été dérochée et restaurée. La collection Crespin à Bruxelles comprend une intéressante réplique de cette œuvre.

L'église de Tervueren possède, de plus, une statue plate, qui a la même origine et aura fait partie d'un même retable. Elle représente Ste Anne apprenant à lire à la Ste Vierge. Nous ne comprenons pas l'erreur qui l'a fait tenir longtemps comme une image de Notre Dame de Tongres.

La statue est loin de valoir le relief. L'ouvrier n'a pu donner qu'un faible relief à son œuvre, étant donné le peu d'épaisseur de la pierre employée. Les visages ne sont guère qu'ébauchés.

Faute d'indices chronologiques précis, nous daterons les deux œuvres d'entre 1450 et 1500.

Une des plus belles pièces que nous avons à étudier est l' 'Arrestation du Christ' du Musée Diocésain de Liège (pl. xxv, 1). Son origine anglaise a déjà été signalée.²

La composition se retrouve dans beaucoup d'albâtres mais l'exécution est d'une qualité exceptionnelle.

Le Christ a un visage expressif, plein de résignation et de douceur. Ses vêtements sont drapés avec art. Un soldat appréhende le Maître d'un geste un peu stéréotypé. Judas n'a peut-être pas le caractère tragique qui conviendrait à un traître. St Pierre

¹ Maclagan, 'An English Altarpiece in the Victoria and Albert Museum', *op. cit.*, pp. 53 à 63.

² M. Devigne, *La Sculpture mosane*, Bruxelles, 1932, p. 58.

tient sa main sur la garde de l'épée qui lui a servi à couper l'oreille de Malchus qui gît au premier plan. Remarquons, enfin, un porteur de hache qui complète le groupe comme à Reading.

L'artiste a complètement détaché les têtes, tandis que le reste de la composition reste en demi-relief. Peut-être faut-il y voir une trace de l'influence flamande que nous signalions plus haut. Les groupes des retables de bois sont en effet souvent traités de cette façon. De même le personnage représentant Malchus pourrait bien être un emprunt, fort maladroit d'ailleurs, à l'art flamand. Les retables des Pays-Bas montrent souvent le serviteur de Caïphe s'écroulant sous le coup que St Pierre lui a asséné.

Le musée d'Arlon (Prov. de Luxembourg) possède un bas-relief de la seconde moitié du xv^e siècle.¹ L'Assomption de la Vierge y est combinée en un seul tableau avec le Couronnement. La combinaison de ces deux épisodes, qui ne figurent ni l'un ni l'autre dans les évangiles canoniques, est caractéristique de l'art anglais (pl. xxv, 2).

La sculpture est en fort bon état. Elle n'est en Belgique que depuis la Révolution française. Elle se trouvait avant au couvent de Ste-Marie à Verdun, où elle faisait sans doute partie d'un retable des sept joies de la Vierge. Une religieuse l'emporta en fuyant et en fit don à l'église de Durbuy, qui la céda, à son tour, au musée d'Arlon, en 1851.

Le musée municipal de Verviers (Prov. de Liège) possède un curieux 'Couronnement de la Vierge'² qui, selon les renseignements aimablement communiqués par le conservateur, M. Pirenne, vient de Tongres (Limbourg). Elle est en tout point semblable à l'Assomption-couronnement de la Vierge, que l'on voit au revers de la tombe de Richard Herbert (†1510) à Abergavenny³ — avec cette différence que la sculpture de Verviers est beaucoup mieux conservée que celle que nous connaissons déjà. Nous lui donnons donc la même date: premier quart du xvi^e siècle (pl. xxv, 3).

La sculpture du musée est sensiblement plus petite que l'autre, elle n'a que 22 inches sur 9, au lieu de 38 sur 13. Ces proportions oblongues devaient convenir assez mal à un fragment de retable. Cependant, le dos de la plaque est parfaitement lisse et propre, et il n'est pas permis de penser qu'elle a été scellée dans un mur, comme à Abergavenny.

Citons, pour mémoire, une 'Résurrection du Christ' qui a figuré à l'exposition d'art religieux de Malines, en 1864, comme

¹ Jos. Destrée, *op. cit.*, p. 458, fig. 9.

² J. de Borchgrave, 'Sculptures conservées en Pays Mosan', fig. 13.

³ P. Nelson, 'Some fifteenth century Alabaster Panels', *Archaeological Journ.*, 1919, p. 136, pl. iv. A. Gardner, *op. cit.*, 1935, p. 345, fig. 430.

faisant partie de la collection Van Halle, à Turnhout (Campine). Malgré nos efforts nous n'avons pu la retrouver.

Nous ne nous attarderons pas longuement aux quatre plaques conservées au musée-château de Gaesbeek, près de Bruxelles. On y voit une 'Flagellation du Christ' qui ressemble fort à celle que le Dr Hildburgh a publiée récemment.¹ Son aspect est satisfaisant, mais certains détails sont suspects. Une 'Mise au tombeau' lui fait pendant. Elle a été calcinée par le feu; aussi il est fort difficile, même presque impossible de se rendre compte de son authenticité. Les deux autres pièces, une seconde 'Flagellation du Christ' et un 'Martyre de Ste Catherine', sont encore plus suspects.

Le chef de St Jean a été un sujet favori des sculpteurs anglais d'albâtre. Les Musées d'Art et d'Histoire à Bruxelles en possèdent deux, de valeur très inégale.² La plaque complète où le chef du martyr est accompagné de deux saints, datant de vers 1500, est une œuvre grossière, aussi nous ne nous y attarderons pas (pl. xxvi, 1).

La seconde tête au contraire est fort curieuse. Elle a été cataloguée comme anglaise, sur la foi de la comparaison avec une œuvre similaire de l'Ashmolean Museum à Oxford, qui présente avec elle de fortes analogies (pl. xxvi, 2).

Mais un article récent vient de mettre en doute cette attribution.³ En effet son expression dramatique si intense, nous semble plus germanique qu'anglaise. Le goût du détail, qui se manifeste dans la façon de rendre les rides et de dessiner les cheveux, confirme encore ce caractère. Le front bas se retrouve dans beaucoup de sculptures allemandes.

Le plat a disparu. Il était sans doute façonné au bout comme celui du chef de St Jean que l'on peut voir au Musée Grunt-huuse à Bruges (anciennement collection Minard à Gand?). Comme dans les œuvres groupées par le Dr W. L. Hildburgh, la bouche est ouverte et le revers porte une cavité rectangulaire dont on s'explique mal l'utilité. La tête pouvait être présentée debout ou couchée sur le plat selon les circonstances.

Si les plaques d'albâtre anglais que nous avons étudiées présentent un grand intérêt, les œuvres en ronde bosse de même origine que la Belgique possède, ont encore plus de prix, parce que plus rares.

¹ W. L. Hildburgh, 'Further Miscellaneous Notes on Medieval English Alabaster Carvings', *Antiq. Journ.* xvii (1937), pl. I, fig. 1.

² Jos. Destrée, *op. cit.*, p. 445, fig. 4; et p. 440, fig. 1.

³ W. L. Hildburgh, 'A Curious Type of Stone St. John's Head', *Antiq. Journ.* xvii (1937), pp. 418-23.

Revenant au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Gand, nous nous arrêterons devant une grande 'Sainte Trinité' donnée par M. Scribe. Elle est grande, aussi, comme l'artiste était limité par le peu d'épaisseur des lames d'albâtre fournies par la carrière, elle est fort plate. Mais le travail est fort bon et on ne peut pas se rendre compte de ce défaut d'après une photographie. La figure du Père est empreinte de dignité et de majesté. Le Christ cloué à la croix est bien proportionné. Des détails comme les plis des vêtements, les boucles des cheveux révèlent un travail très soigné. Les rehauts de polychromie sont en grande partie conservés (pl. xxvii, 2).

Le Musée de la Byloke, dans la même ville, possède une statuette de Ste Catherine, qui rentre dans les dimensions plus habituelles. On remarquera un léger hanchement. Les draperies sont belles, l'épée a été brisée; la sainte est couronnée d'un diadème que l'on retrouve dans tant d'œuvres anglaises. On relève d'importantes traces de polychromie (pl. xxvii, 1).

Le Musée Mayer van den Bergh, à Anvers, possède une seconde 'Sainte Trinité'. Elle est un peu plus petite que celle de Gand, et plus en relief. Le visage du Père n'est qu'une pâle imitation de celui de Gand. Par contre, le Christ Crucifié est meilleur; le St Esprit a disparu (pl. xxviii, 1).

Le Dr Martin Konrad classe ce groupe comme une œuvre flamande sous l'influence anglaise.¹ Nous ne voyons pas ce qu'elle a de flamand.

La même collection anversoise possède un 'St Jean' d'assez bonne facture. Le saint montre du doigt l'Agneau de Dieu qu'il tient sur un livre. La tête est entourée d'une épaisse chevelure dessinée en ondes concentriques. Son manteau est bien drapé. Par-dessous, nous voyons le cilice sillonné de petits traits symétriques qui rappellent la façon de traiter les cheveux (pl. xxviii, 2).

Le 'St Paul' qui a fait sans doute partie d'une même série de saints est fort inférieur. La tête est trop forte. On le remarque d'autant plus que les épaules sont fort tombantes. Par contre, on retrouve la même habileté à traiter les draperies que nous avons remarqué dans la statue précédente (pl. xxviii, 3).

Notons en passant que la célèbre 'Vierge' de l'ancienne collection Figdor, à Vienne, dont l'origine anglaise est reconnue depuis longtemps,² provient du couvent des Rédemptoristes à St-Trond, Limbourg (pl. xxvii, 3).

Le 'St Jean' du Musée archéologique de Liège a été consi-

¹ Dr Martin Konrad, *Meisterwerke der Skulptur in Flandern und Brabant*, Berlin, s.d., p. 111, pl. vii.

² Jos. Destée, *op. cit.*, p. 452, fig. 7.



3. Vienne : Ancienne collection
Figdor. Vierge



2. Gand : Musée des Beaux-Arts
Trinité



1. Gand : Musée de la Byloke
Ste Catherine



1. Trinité



2. St Jean
Anvers : Musée Mayer van den Bergh



3. St Paul

déré à tort comme une œuvre mosane.¹ Sa restitution aux ateliers anglais sera sans grande importance.² Sa silhouette est indécise. Le visage est naïf, le ciseau hésitant.

La petite 'Ste Marguerite' du Musée d'art et d'histoire à Bruxelles est une œuvre élégante et délicate, mais aussi sans grande originalité.

Terminons en souhaitant que l'on puisse faire des recherches plus approfondies sur les albâtres anglais de la Belgique. Nous avons omis volontairement des œuvres très intéressantes, mais dont le caractère anglais est moins évident et nécessiteraient des rapprochements que nous n'aurions pu faire avec la documentation réduite que nous possédons ici.

Signalons cependant dès à présent, parmi les œuvres qu'il faudra étudier avec grand soin, la très intéressante Ste Catherine de l'église Ste Waudru à Herenthals (Province d'Anvers).³ D'après la photographie que nous en possédons, elle paraît avoir tous les caractères des sculptures anglaises. Mais malheureusement, la statue se trouve dans une sacristie d'accès très difficile et nous n'avons pas pu la voir. Nous attendrons donc de l'avoir examinée, pour nous prononcer.⁴

¹ J. Baum, 'Die Lütticher Bilderkunst im 14. Jahrhundert', dans P. Clemen, *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, t. i, p. 171 et fig. 156.

² M. Devigne, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

³ James Weale, *Catalogue des objets d'art religieux, exposés à l'hôtel de Liedekerke à Malines*. Malines, 1864, no. 5.

⁴ Les photographies illustrant cet article sont exécutées d'après les négatifs appartenant aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire à Bruxelles, à l'exception du N° 2 de la planche xxiv dû au talent de M^r Becker à Bruxelles.

A Romano-British Interment, with Bucket and Sceptres, from Brough, East Yorkshire

By PHILIP CORDER, M.A., F.S.A., and I. A. RICHMOND, M.A.,
F.S.A.

THE Roman Ermine Street, having crossed the Humber on the way to York from Lincoln, leaves Brough Haven on its west side, and the little town of *Petuaria* to the east. For the first half-mile northwards from the Haven its course is not certainly known: then, followed by the modern road, it runs northwards through South Cave towards Market Weighton. In the area thus traversed by the Roman road burials of the Roman age have already been noted¹ in sufficient quantity to suggest an extensive cemetery. The interment which is the subject of the present note was found on 10th October 1936, when men laying pipes at right angles to the modern road, in the carriage-drive of Mr. J. G. Southam, having cut through some 4 ft. of blown sand, came upon a mass of mixed Roman pottery, dating from the late first to the fourth century A.D. Bones of pig, dog, sheep, and ox were also represented. Presently, at a depth of about 5 ft., something attracted closer attention. A layer of thin limestone slabs was found, covering two human skeletons, one lying a few feet from the west margin of the modern road, the other parallel with the road and some 8 ft. from its edge. The objects described below were found with the second skeleton, and the first to be discovered was submitted by Mr. Southam to Mr. T. Sheppard, F.S.A.Scot., Director of the Hull Museums, who visited the site with his staff. All that can be recorded of the circumstances of the discovery is contained in the observations then made, under difficult conditions. 'Slabs of hard limestone', it was reported,² 'taken from a local quarry of millepore oolite and forming the original Roman road, were distinctly visible beneath the present roadway—one of the few points where the precise site of the old road has been located. On the side of this . . . a burial-place has been constructed. What it was like originally it is difficult to say, beyond that a layer of thin . . . slabs of limestone occurred over the skeletons. This had probably been kept in place or supported by some structure of wood, as several

¹ Kitson Clark, *Gazetteer of Roman Remains in East Yorkshire*, 72-3, alludes to interments in Prescott's gravel-pit.

² *Leeds Mercury*, 15 Oct. 1936; cf. *Yorkshire Post* of the same date.



Bucket escutcheon from Brough, East Yorkshire (2)



CORRIGENDA

p. 69, note 1. The reference should be Diodorus Siculus v, 28,
not Strabo v, 26.

p. 71, note 1. The reference is ii, p. 42, fig. 311.

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large iron nails, some bent at right angles, were among the bones.' If this were all that could be said about the burials, they would hardly merit a place in these pages. The chief interest of the record would be its apparent identification of the exact course of the Roman road at a point where this had hitherto been uncertain. Three objects associated with the second skeleton are, however, of exceptional interest.

The first and most striking relic is the remains of a small wooden bucket, hooped in iron. Portions of two iron hoops were discovered, both fitting a 6-in. external diameter, the first $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide and in two pieces respectively $8\frac{1}{8}$ in. and $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, the second $\frac{5}{8}$ in. wide and $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. long. The broader hoop retains clear traces of the wooden sides which it had once encircled, though holes for attachment are not now seen on the surviving pieces. There was also a bronze escutcheon (pl. xxix), modelled as a human bust, which had been fixed to the bucket by two iron pin-rivets, passing through the chest of the figure, and by a strong rivet in the back of the head, where an $\frac{1}{8}$ -in. hole, with traces of solder, remains. It seems reasonable to suppose that while the little rivets were fixed to a horizontal hoop, the main rivet was connected with the top of a vertical stay.

The little bust itself measures $\frac{7}{8}$ in. across the shoulders and $\frac{3}{4}$ in. from chin to crown, and is exceptionally well modelled for so tiny an object. Collar-bones are distinctly shown at the base of the short firm neck, on which is poised a broad-headed skull, with protuberant jaw, pursed lips, broad straight nose, prominent brows, and low forehead. Strong, slightly waved hair is combed in native fashion¹ straight down on to the forehead in thick masses. The protuberance of the chin is accentuated by a small pointed beard, giving an expression of vigour and determination, not without an air of grim humour. Such a head must be a characteristic portrait of one of Rome's north-western subjects,² if not the moustachioed Britons whom Julius Caesar knew. The excellent workmanship is manifestly in the classical tradition.

The second object is an iron sceptre (pl. xxx), decorated in bronze. There remain the bronze head; two joined pieces of iron

¹ For this fashion see Curle, *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* lxi, 327, quoting Lantier, *Monuments Piot*, xxxi. The dressing of hair with cosmetics is noted by Strabo, v, 26, quoting Poseidonius, *τιτάνου γὰρ ἀποπλῦματι σμῶντες τὰς τρίχας συνεχῶς ἵνα διαφανεῖς ᾖσι*.

² Caesar, *B.G.* v, 14, *omni parte corporis rasa, praeter caput et labrum superius*. Compare, however, Poseidonius on the Gauls, quoted by Strabo, v, 28, *τὰ δὲ γένηα τινὲς μὲν ξυρῶνται, τινὲς δὲ μετρίως ὑποτρέφουσιν οἱ δ' εὐγενεῖς τὰς μὲν παρειὰς ἀπολειαινουσι, τὰς δ' ὑπὲρ ἀνεμιένας ἐώσω ὥστε τὰ στόματα αὐτῶν ἐπικαλύπτεσθαι*.

stem, in all 1 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, containing two bronze collars; two shorter pieces of iron stem; a third bronze collar; and the knobbed butt, also of bronze. The head is a barbaric helmed bust, clad in a cloak of which the scalloped edge has been exaggerated as a conventional pattern outlining the bust. The helmet¹ is of cavalry type, lacking visor, cheek-pieces, and neck-guard, but edged with the typical flange, drawn to a peak over the forehead. It is crowned with an elaborate pierced crest, also in cavalry style,² fastened at front and back and tooled to represent something waving, like feathers. It might even be thought that the mask-like expressionless face was also reminiscent³ of troopers, in their visor-masks; but its fixity is probably due only to incompetence in execution. The hair on the forehead is represented as a double fringe of curls, while an attempt has been made to indicate a moustache, usually absent on the visors.⁴ Below the bust, a plain bronze collar attaches the piece to an iron stem.

The two bronze collars attached to the longest piece of the iron stem are each decorated with three astragals in low relief. One collar is a little longer than the other, as if it were the medial piece; and, consonantly, the third, detached collar matches the shorter one. The butt is formed by a bronze collar, 1 in. long, separated from a knob, 1 in. in diameter, by an almost square necking with rounded profile. If all the decorative pieces now described were separated by a 7-in. interval, as are the two collars on the long stem, the result would be a sceptre some 3 ft. long. The effect, in polished iron and gleaming bronze, reminds us of many Victorian ornaments. It may also be noted that the longest surviving piece of stem, which on any theory of reconstruction cannot have been far removed from the middle of the rod, has been bent (see fig. 1, c), distorting the larger collar in the process. It appears unlikely that this accident happened in the tomb, where the sceptre would presumably be lying flat. A readier explanation of the distortion may be found in the custom⁵ of rendering useless, or devitalizing, objects taken to the grave.

The third object is another sceptre (pl. xxxi), of which less survives. There remain the head; two fragments of iron stem, 4 in. and 3 in. long respectively, each containing a bronze collar; and two isolated pieces, one joined, of iron stem. The head is once again

¹ *A Roman Frontier Post*, pl. xxvi, 3, pls. xxvii and xxviii.

² The Newstead iron helmet, *op. cit.*, pl. xxix, and the Ribchester helmet, *Vetusta Monumenta*, iv, pl. 1, have attachments for just such crests.

³ Cf. *A Roman Frontier Post*, pls. xxix, xxx.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Compare the breaking of swords in the cemetery of Hallais, near Bouelles, or Notre-Dame-du-Vaudreuil, Hawkes and Dunning, *The Belgae*, 203, 212.



Head of sceptre 1 from Brough, East Yorkshire (1)



Head of sceptre 2 from Brough, East Yorkshire (1)

a helmed bust, exhibiting the same type of cavalry helmet already described, except that the flanged edge and peak are bolder, while the solid crest, with grooved top, curves forward majestically and ends¹ in a little curved tail. The bearded face has almost been beyond the artist, who makes the hair form a single mass, on cranium, cheek, and chin, and even unites it with the flat nose.

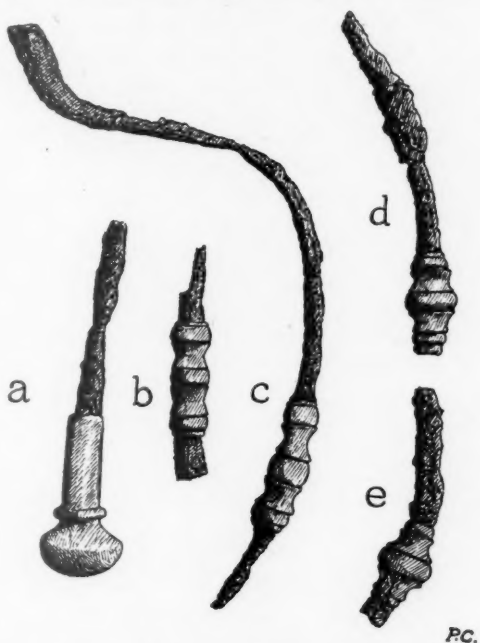


FIG. 1. *a, b, c.* Remains of Sceptre 1. *d, e.* Remains of Sceptre 2 ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Eyes and moustache are faintly moulded. The sloping shoulders are covered with two shoulder-plates, attached to a thick tunic, with hemmed edge boldly projecting at the back of the neck. This clothing presumably represents a trooper's leather and metal uniform.² Below the shoulders the bust is cut straight off and attached to a solid round tang, fitting into a socket at the end of the iron stem.

The bronze collars resemble those of the first sceptre, but the central astragal (see fig. 1, *d*) has been much enlarged, at the expense of the outer ones, giving a more knobbed effect. The

¹ For the type, cf. Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome*.

² Cf. Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule*, scene lxx.



FIG. 2.
Conjectural
restoration
of Sceptre 1
(A)

collars are of different size, suggesting that one is the middle element, larger than the rest. The iron stem appears also to have been bent like the other; and although hardly enough remains (see fig. 1, *d*, *e*) to prove conclusively either this point or an exact similarity between the two pieces, there is a strong presumption that the two sceptres paired and were similarly distorted before interment.

What may be said of these remarkable objects? It is evident that the modern workmen broke into a grave where some one of distinction had been buried, with a bucket of native type and official sceptres by his side. The sceptres resemble¹ in general style the well-known examples from Willingham Fen, connected with a cult of Hercules-Commodus. The Fenland sceptres, however, bear all the marks of the good artistry naturally connected with Emperor-worship and the official gods of Rome. These from Brough are evidently of native manufacture. The helmed heads which decorate them are done by men who knew Roman soldiers better than Roman art; nor is there any plain clue to the reference of the sceptres. We cannot tell whether the old man who carried these insignia so proudly to the grave had been a priest or layman, though Sir Arthur Keith recognizes his skull as of aristocratic type (see appendix). The bucket associated with these objects underlines their connexion with non-Roman tradition; for the habit of including ornamental buckets among grave-goods was a native one which lasted long in Britain. The most famous example is the Aylesford bucket, of the mid-first century B.C. Other parallels² are collected by Hawkes and Dunning.

The pre-Roman Aylesford bucket has escutcheons³ modelled as native warriors' heads, with elaborate double-crested helmets of Gallic type. The Brough escutcheon is shaped as a head, and a non-classical one, but it has no helmet. The disconnexion from warriors, though not from war, is matched on pre-Roman escutcheons⁴ from Welwyn, which are shaped

¹ *J.R.S.* xiii, pl. III. ² Hawkes and Dunning, *The Belgae*, 304-9.

³ Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, 39.

⁴ *Archaeologia*, lxiii, 20, and pl. II; *British Museum Guide to Early Iron Age Antiquities*, 1925, pl. XI.

as men's heads, with hair groomed as at Brough, and moustaches such as are described¹ by Julius Caesar. It is evidently from native escutcheons in the form of human heads, originally derived from the trophy-decoration of real skulls² on great men's houses, that the maker of the Brough escutcheon drew his inspiration. The Roman artistic skill, which so enhanced the charm of the product as to disguise its gruesome origin, also appears on the handle-mount³ of the bucket from Thealby, near Scunthorpe.

Yet another connexion with native tradition is apparent in the manner of the burial. The body was covered not only with limestone slabs, but also with nailed woodwork. Nineteen iron nails, with large round heads and shanks originally $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, indicate the presence of either a wooden coffin in a limestone cist, or a frame of wood covered with stone slabs instead of boards. The large size of the nails suggests, in fact, most strongly the latter. This is reminiscent of the ultimate Belgic burials⁴ in France, as at Varimpré (Seine Inf.) or at Lavilleneuve (Côte d'Or). Since, however, only personages of rank were so buried, the type of burial seems to agree with the type of skull in suggesting that the grave belonged to a man of distinction.

It is impossible, however, to assume that the burial is of pre-Roman date. The grave-goods, however reflective of native customs, are deeply influenced by Roman environment in their design. The uncouth sceptre-heads, however clumsy, are inspired by troopers of the Roman army. The accomplished execution of the barbaric head on the escutcheon stamps it as directly due to classical tradition.⁵ Yet to estimate when such influences were making themselves felt in the land of the Parisi, of which Brough-Petuarria was the principal town,⁶ is not easy. The first

¹ *B.G.* v, 14, quoted above, p. 69, note 2.

² Compare Strabo, quoting Poseidonius, iv, 4, 5, τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν πολεμίων . . . κομίσαντας δὲ προσπατταλέειν τοῖς προπυλαίοις: φησὶ γοῦν Ποσειδώνιος αὐτὸς ἰδεῖν ταύτην τὴν θέαν πολλαχοῦ, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀηθίζεσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φέρειν πρῶτος διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν. In Gallic sculpture such heads are the decorative equivalent of the Roman bucranium, and appear on the famous monument from Entremont; Esperandieu, *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine*, i, nos. 105-8; also on a small frieze, now in the 'Temple de Diane', Nîmes, from one of the Gallic temples previously on the site. The custom continued among the *auxilia* of the Roman army, see Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule*, scenes xxiv, lvi, lxxii, cxiii.

³ *Antiq. Journ.* xv, 459, and pl. lxxi.

⁴ Varimpré, Hawkes and Dunning, *The Belgae*, 214, quoting Cochet, *Seine Inférieure*, 333; Lavilleneuve, *Bull. Archéol.*, 1913, 363-73.

⁵ The connexion appears to be with such works as are figured by Rostovtzeff, *J.R.S.* xiii, 93, fig. 5, from London, fig. 6, from Pompeii.

⁶ *Ptol. Geogr.* ii, 3, 17, πρὸς οἷς περὶ τὸν Εὐλίμενον κόλπον Παρίσιοι καὶ πόλις Πετουάρια. The situation of the place is discussed in *Excavations at the Roman*

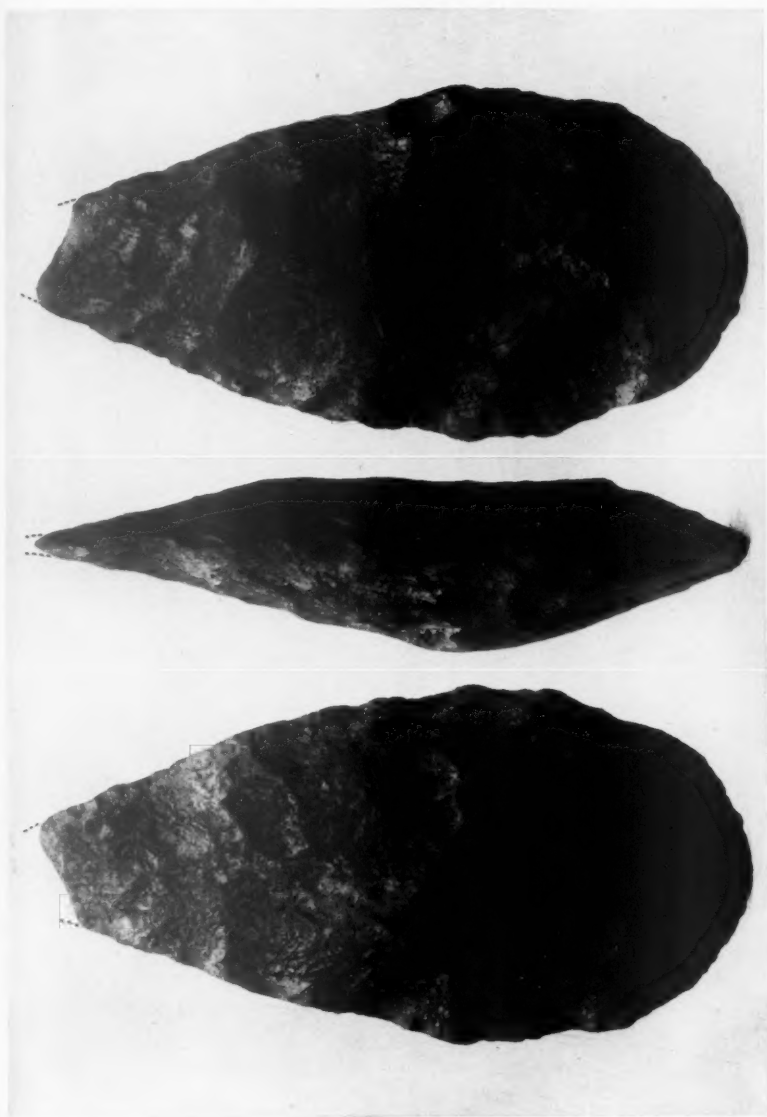
stirring of civic consciousness appears in the town¹ under Trajan, when native huts were buried under new buildings ambitiously designed in Roman manner. Further, excavation shows that even this movement was retarded, and hardly set going again before the close of Hadrian's reign; as if the disturbance of A.D. 117 and the reorganization which followed had radically affected the internal economy of the tribe. Perhaps it is the period after these events that best fits the burial here described. This later date, at least, can hardly be considered too late for a perpetuation of native custom.

APPENDIX

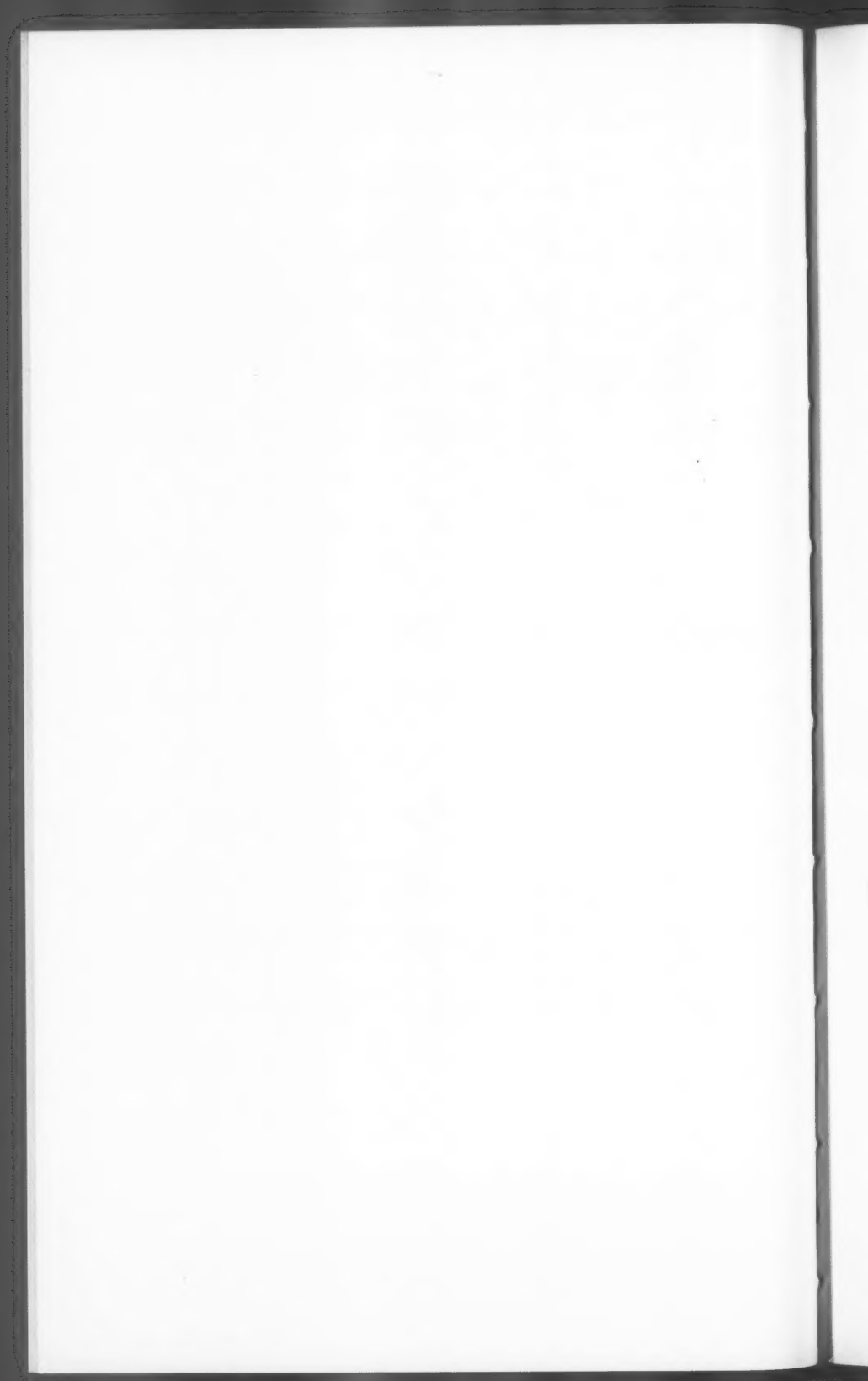
The skull associated with the objects described above was examined by Sir Arthur Keith, who has made the following observations upon its type: 'The skull is that of a man, about 5 ft. 9 in. in stature, with a big head—certainly a European. His length of skull is 195 mm.—a long skull: 149 mm. wide—also a wide skull: and high 122 mm., giving a capacity of about 1680 c.c. The face is narrow and the jaws degenerate. I have noted that in nearly every group of Romano-British skulls—a group of thirty or more—there is nearly always one of those big-headed men. He belongs to the "squire class".'

Town at Brough, E. Yorkshire; Third Interim Report (1935), pp. 27-28; and the name is confirmed by a newly found inscription (1937).

¹ *Excavations at the Roman Town at Brough, E. Yorkshire; Fourth Interim Report (1936), pp. 19-23.*



St. Acheul hand-axe from High Wycombe (4)

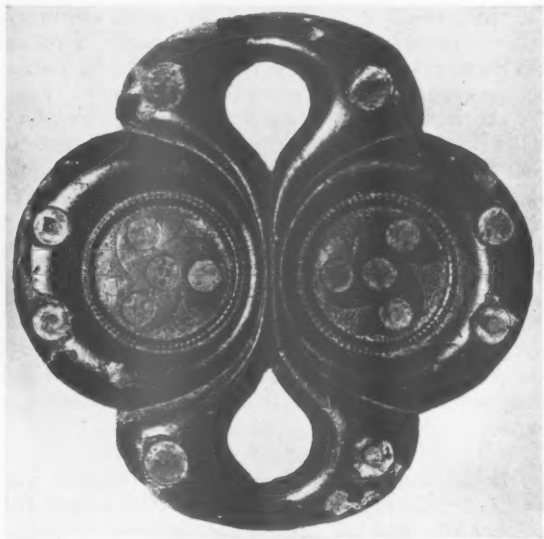


Notes

A palaeolithic problem.—A hand-axe of St. Acheul type (pl. xxxii) was submitted to the British Museum by Miss Dessin of High Wycombe and is worth recording for its material, its locality, and the curious circumstances of its discovery. It was noticed by a visitor, Mr. Vere Sutton, in the rock-garden of a house in Rectory Avenue, High Wycombe, and kindly lent for examination, though no explanation of its presence could be given by the occupier. The rest of the rockery was of local stone, and it is strange to find an implement of volcanic rock in a district where flint is abundant. The specific name cannot be given without slicing, but it was learnt at the Natural History Museum that the stone is probably an altered lava, not of British origin. The very fine-grained matrix seems to be of altered feldspathic material and encloses phenocrysts at present unidentifiable. The colour is a greenish grey with black spots, in unrolled condition; and the point is broken transversely. The flaking covers both faces, the butt as sharp as the sides, which are slightly zigzag but not twisted, and the weight is 2 lb. 3 oz.; the length 8.2 in. and maximum breadth 4.3 in. The source of the raw material, the place of its manufacture, and its conveyance to High Wycombe are equally mysterious; but there can be little hesitation in calling it a palaeolithic hand-axe.

An Early British enamel.—Permission to publish another treasure from the Sudeley Castle collection has been given by Major Dent-Brocklehurst at the instance of Mrs. Brookes Clifford; and the full-size photograph represents a noble addition to the corpus of Early British art recently passed in review by our Fellow Mr. Thurlow Leeds. There is no history of the find, which was presumably made in the neighbourhood of the Castle and about nine miles north-east of the famous mirror-burial near Birdlip. It is safe to credit the Dobuni with considerable skill in design as well as in the use of enamel, as the present specimen has graceful eccentric curves enriched with red enamel still in good condition. The sunk circles near the centre both have a beaded margin and a trigram with four red settings. The ground is stippled, and on the outer side of each disc the stippling is repeated in spaces bounded by a wave pattern of three points. Similar stippling with single points may be seen in the folds of the main curves, flanking the openwork loops. Some of the larger marginal settings still retain their red enamel, others have countersunk centres which were intended to hold the enamel. The bronze has been slightly bent, no doubt by accident, and has in front a fine olive-green patina: the back is covered with verdigris under a leathery patina. Four unpierced lugs of oblong plan project from the back near the top and bottom of two lightly engraved circles, which look like setting-out lines for geometrical designs like those on the mirrors. The lugs are $\frac{3}{16}$ in. long, the weight $3\frac{3}{4}$ oz., and both height and width $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. The British artist was inventive and not likely to duplicate a design; but the details can be found in other combinations: the stippled areas occur, for instance, on

another horse-trapping found at Norton, Suffolk (*Horae Ferales*, pl. xix, no. 4) in conjunction with pointed lobes containing enamelled discs. The use of only red enamel points to a date before Roman influence prompted a greater range of colours; and the first half of the first century A.D. would suit this as well as the Birdlip mirror.



Early British enamel from Gloucestershire (1)

The Ermine Street at Alconbury Hill.—Dr. J. R. Garrood, Local Secretary for Huntingdonshire, sends the following note: The laying of water-pipes across the Great North Road at Alconbury Hill afforded an opportunity of seeing a section of it. The road is 30 ft. wide here and 70 ft. between hedges; there are ditches on either side.

The gravel beneath the modern surface is fairly uniform. There are no boulders or paving, but a thin silty layer is found at 2 ft. 3 in. The deeper layer of gravel is about 20 ft. wide but thin at the sides. At a depth of 4 ft. in the centre sticks about 3 in. thick were found lying transversely. The subsoil is Boulder-clay.

There is sand in the upper soil on both sides of the road; this is characteristic and due, I think, to road metal disintegrated by iron tires and transported by wind.

The trench was a diagonal one, but I took all measurements at right angles to the line of the Ermine Street, so making it transverse.

The 'Fen Road' from Durobrivæ to Denver.—Dr. Garrood also communicates the following: Codrington quotes Dugdale, *History of Imbanking and Draining*, 1772, p. 174, 'That long causey made of gravel about three

feet in thickness'. In a manuscript note by Mr. Little of Eldernell (b. 1832) is the following: 'Through Eldernell ran a Roman road connecting the Roman Stations of Brancaster in Norfolk and Castor near Peterborough. On the fenland a layer of faggots formed the foundation, next came a layer of rough ragstone, then a coat of gravel three feet thick, which with time had become almost as solid as rock and was quarried for road repairs.' Fox (*Arch. Cambridge Region*, p. 182) thinks it highly probable that this road may have been a military work, it may be of the late third or fourth century, connected with coast defence.

On 24th August 1937 I had occasion to visit Eldernell near Whittlesey and inspected this road in the field called 'Army Huts Ground'. A number of men working at the harvest told me they had recently dug out some of the road to mend other roads, and that they had found sticks under the gravel between it and the peat. I found this was as they said. They also told me that one of their number had found a coin beneath the gravel and that it was raised on one side and hollow on the other. The finder was Henry Amps, of Fold Coats, nr. Whittlesey; he was there at the time. Eventually I obtained the coin from him; it was a little concave on one side. Mr. Harold Mattingly of the British Museum has very kindly examined the coin and reports that it is an *As* of Vespasian, mint of *Lugdunum*, A.D. 77-8:

Obv. IMP CAES VESPASIAN AVG COS VIII PP

Head laureate r. globe under neck.

Rev. (AEQ)ITAS AVGVSTI

S C

Aequitas standing l. holding scales and vertical sceptre.

Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, ii, 104, no. 758; Cohen 6.

Although the coin shows evidence of wear, I think it indicates that the Fen Road was made fairly early, say in the early second century.

Roman Road from Godmanchester to Sandy.—Mr. C. F. Tebbutt reports that a section of this road was made this year in by-passing the double bend where the St. Neots—Cambridge road picks up the Roman Road (locally known as Hail Lane) for a short distance at Weald, 2½ miles from St. Neots. The section shows 15 in. of gravel, the modern road; 6 in. of clay mixed with sand; and 15 in. of cobble stones picked from the fields. This last is about 10 ft. wide and has beneath it undisturbed clay. Lying on the clay are animal bones. The Roman Road was noticeably free from sand or gravel. The clay layer above it seemed to show a period of neglect, and the sand mixed with this clay came no doubt from the road above.

Excavations on Pen Dinas, Cardiganshire, 1937.—Prof. Daryll Forde, a Local Secretary for Wales, sends the following note: Work at the end of last season and during a short period this year has been devoted to the elucidation of the defensive works of the North Fort at Pen Dinas. The greater part of the perimeter of this fort is marked at the surface by a single bank, and cuttings on the west flank last season showed that this is fronted by a relatively deep rock-cut ditch which lacks any counterscarp bank. It was also

found that the ditch curved round to face south as if to enclose a once self-contained area which was later linked by a defended waist to South Fort. On the east side, however, surface conditions and the cuttings made in 1936 failed to indicate a corresponding incurving ditch.

Investigations this summer have now demonstrated the existence of a once independent North Fort. The obscurity of the plan was found to result from quarrying subsequent to the use of the North Fort as a self-contained unit. This quarrying removed a considerable mass of rock in two areas formerly traversed by the southward facing defences, and in the eastern area had obliterated the ditch for a considerable distance (see plan, fig. 1).

A cutting on the north-eastern flank of what was later found to be a quarried area disclosed the original ditch of North Fort at a place where it was curving to the south-west, and it also showed that the later connecting bank was run obliquely across this ditch to defend the waist or isthmus linking North and South Forts. This cutting exposed the southern end of a section of the ditch which had been filled with tightly packed rubble for this purpose. To eliminate subsequent sagging of the bank that was run across it, a revetment had been built in and across the ditch to keep the packed rubble in position. The ditch was $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep, 11 ft. wide, and triangular in section, and the revetment of the packed rubble filling, which extended to within 3 ft. of the bottom, stood to a height of over 2 ft. above the inner lip (pl. xxxiii, 1).

On the inner side of the ditch and separated from it by a sloping berm 3 ft. wide was a shallow rock-cut gutter—the base of a revetment trench behind which the original bank may be presumed to have stood. This bank and the ground behind it had, however, been entirely removed by demolition and quarrying, and the quarried area extends for 120 ft. to the south-west. Of the ditch where its course traversed this quarried area practically no trace remains, but it was recovered beyond for a distance of 30 ft. before it ended as the east flank of the entrance to the original North Fort. This entrance, of which only a fragmentary section of revetment footing of the gateway was found, had been almost entirely demolished. No evidence of a revetment trench or of post-holes was found in the cuttings made, and the short stretch of footing on the west side suggests that the bank ends were revetted with stone without timber work. In any case the defences were demolished and the ditch ends filled with rubble thrown from the dismantled bank. The causeway 22 ft. wide between the two ditch ends runs from north to south, and originally gave access down a gentle slope from North Fort to the level ground immediately south of it. There is no clear surface indication of any other gateway giving access to North Fort.

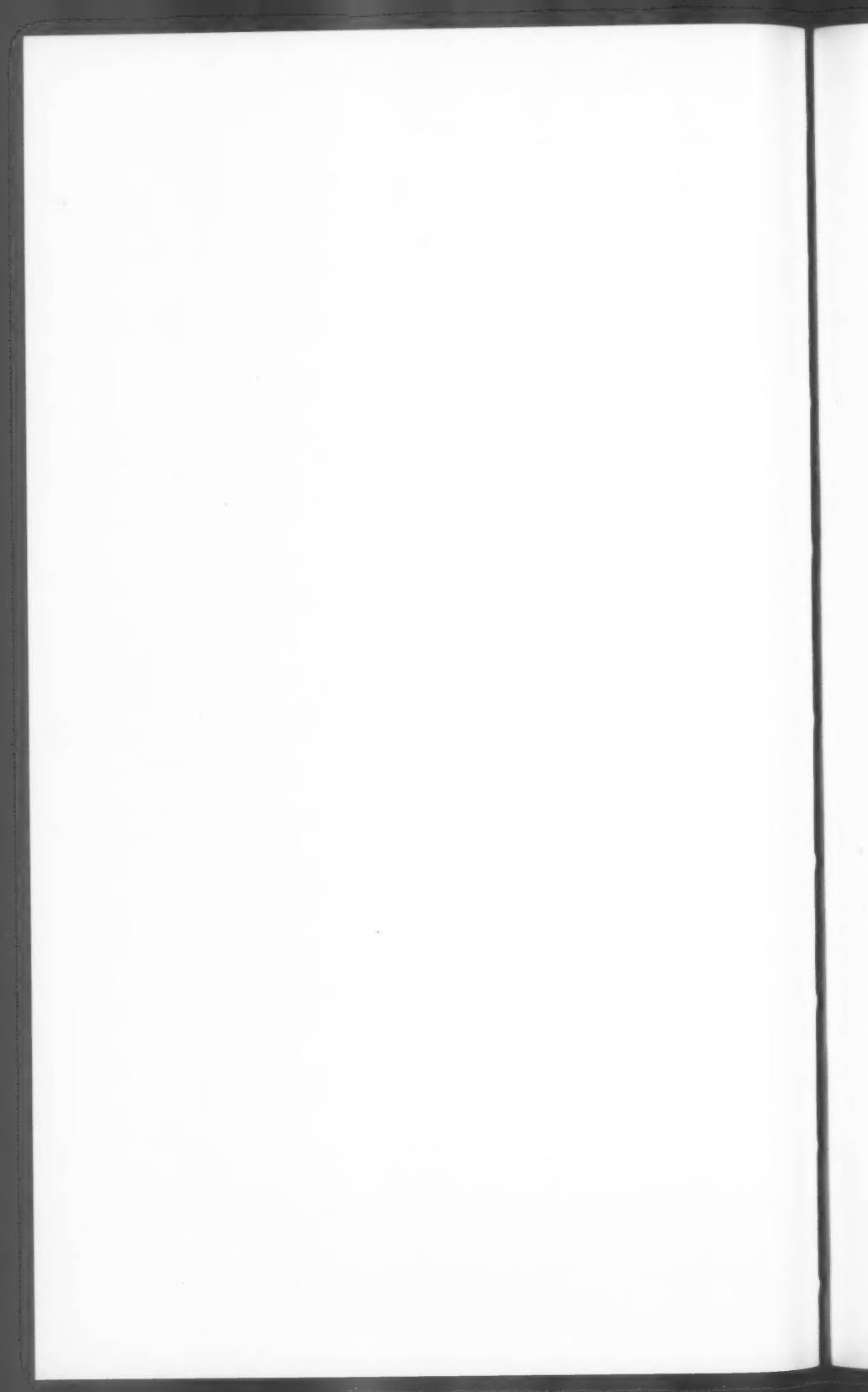
The defences of North Fort to the west of the original entrance were examined in a number of cuttings. Here, too, the construction had been partly obliterated by subsequent quarrying. The ditch, with a depth of slightly more than 6 ft., was found to be comparable with that found farther west in 1936 and on the eastern side this season. It had an almost vertical inner face and a flat bottom, but this may result from quarrying in the ditch itself after the dismantling of the defences. Behind the ditch in this area, at a distance varying from 8 to 17 ft. from the lip, and beyond a sloping berm, ran a trench



2. Rock-cut revetment trench. Sectional view to the W. of entrance of North Fort. The ditch lies to the right



1. Ditch of North Fort exposed in cutting on the SE., showing the inner face of the ditch and its outer lip. Part of the transverse revetment which held the ditch-filling can be seen on the left



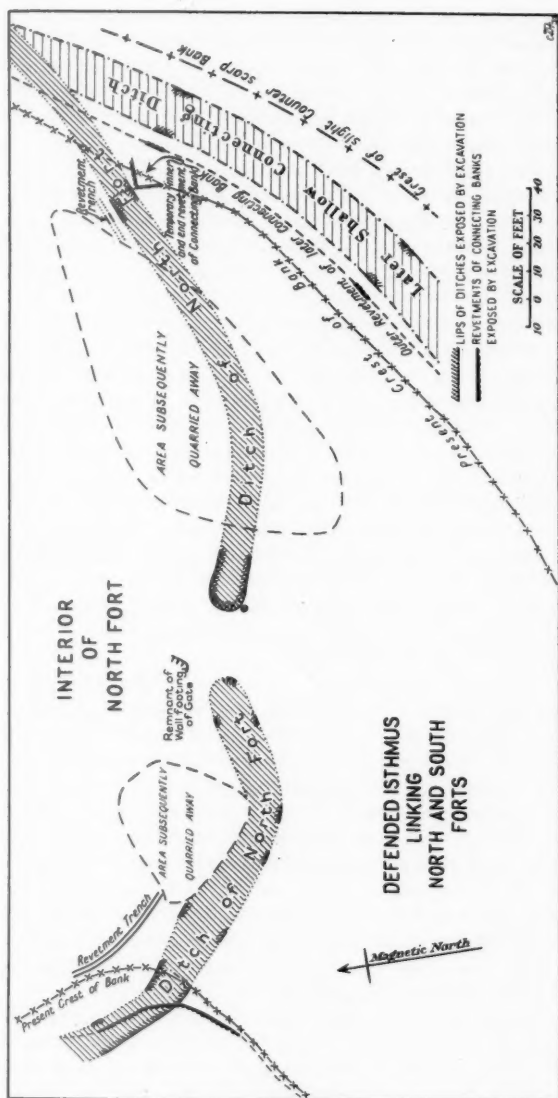


FIG. 1. Plan of the southern end and entrance of North Fort, Pen Dinas

rather more than a foot wide and a foot deep. This trench had been cut in the rock over the greater part of the length exposed, but towards the west where the bedrock sank it had been dug in Boulder-clay and was revealed by the concave surface of the Boulder-clay, the arrangement of packing stones, and a loose filling of infiltrated soil (pl. xxxiii, 2). Since the footings of the stone revetments found in other banks on Pen Dinas had only been sunk a few inches into the surface soil of the period of construction, and since no stones of a size and form suitable for revetting were found in or near the trench, it appears almost certain that this trench, like that found parallel to the ditch on the eastern side, was dug to take a timber revetment. No decayed wood was observed in the filling of the trench, but this may be due to the completely dismantled condition of the bank site. The trench was exposed over a distance of more than 40 ft., but no traces of deeper post-holes were found within it. It would, therefore, appear that the bank of the North Fort was originally held by an outer revetment of closely set timber except in the vicinity of the entrance, where stone was used to revet the square ends of the bank at the gateway. Since the trench was shallow it is unlikely that the timbers were very massive or of great height. The inclination of the sharply cut inner edge of the trench in the rock-cut portion indicated that the revetment sloped back with a considerable batter. No trace of a second gutter marking the position of an inner revetment of a bank was found. It is, of course, possible that on the south side away from the gate a timber palisade set up in the trench was the sole construction, but a bank still exists on the greater part of the perimeter of North Fort, and since the ground surface behind the gutter was slightly convex, and brown stony soil distinct from the Boulder-clay was found here, there can be little doubt that the material excavated from the ditch was used in fact to build a rampart.

The later defences running along the east flank of the connecting isthmus as revealed in this season's cutting confirmed the results of the previous season and emphasized the contrast with the technique employed for the original defences of North Fort, for the ditch here was hardly worthy of the name and consisted merely of a slight scarping of the rock face towards a steeper but shallow rock slope—little more than 2 ft. in vertical depth—on the outer side. Outside this shallow ditch were the remains of a feeble counterscarp bank of earth and small stones which faded out as it approached the junction with the original defences of North Fort. When the extension was made, the connecting bank had been built up to the outer lip of the original North Fort ditch prior to the filling of that ditch, and had been held temporarily in position by a right-angled stretch of revetment which was exposed in the cutting (plan, fig. 1).

The date of the quarrying which has disfigured the southward-facing defences of North Fort cannot be stated with certainty. Since the western bank defending the waist had no ditch in front of it and the ditch in front of the eastern bank was relatively shallow, it is likely that these quarries provided material for the connecting banks. On the other hand, the only relics found in the cuttings taken across the eastern quarried area consisted of a sherd of modern glazed pottery and a fragment of dark bottle glass both found 2 ft. below the present ground level and less than 2 ft. from rock. These

finds suggest that the ground has been recently disturbed, and the eastern quarry at least may have provided material for the stone pillar which was erected on the summit in South Fort in the middle of last century.

The sequence of the main constructional periods on Pen Dinas is now clear. North Fort, with an entrance facing south, was the earliest defended site and was protected by a single bank probably held by timber revetment and a small but steep-sided ditch on its exposed eastern side. Later a separate site—South Fort—was occupied on the higher knoll whose summit lies 250 yards to the south of North Fort gate. This was defended on its exposed eastern and northern sides by a ditch of greater depth, a massive rampart revetted with river boulders and a considerable counterscarp bank. This fort had two gateways, one in the north-east, the other in the south-east. Finally the two forts were linked by connecting defences. On the west, overlooking a steep descent to the beach, a slight revetted bank alone was built. On the east a more considerable bank faced by a broad but shallow ditch and a weak counterscarp bank linked the defences of the older forts. In this bank, close to the north-eastern gate of South Fort, an entrance, which was reconstructed several times, gave access to the connecting isthmus and so to the entire fortified area.

Excavations at Ffridd Faldwyn Camp, Montgomery, 1937.—Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, F.S.A., communicates the following: With the aid of grants from the Board of Celtic Studies and the Cambrian Archaeological Association a start has been made with a programme of excavation of Ffridd Faldwyn Camp, near Montgomery, of which Dr. Willoughby Gardner, F.S.A., published a plan in *Arch. Camb.*, 1932, 364 ff. The camp is remarkable for having a smaller inner enclosure with slight ramparts and an enclosing massive system of fortification.

In 1937 two trial trenches were cut at the SW. end of the defences, one on each side of the entrances, across most of the lines of fortifications. It was apparent before excavation that these are of more than one period, but the great number of complexities found was quite unexpected.

Section A, which was cut west of the entrances, disclosed at least five structural periods. Section B, east of the entrances, confirmed the three earlier periods precisely and was in general agreement regarding the later phases. All the periods are clearly of the pre-Roman Iron Age, and no indication was found of any reoccupation of the camp in the fourth century A.D. or later. Charcoal layers, cobbled floors, and a large quantity of animal bones indicate considerable habitation at different times. A single Early Iron Age potsherd, of ware identical with that of one class found at Breiddin Hill Camp in 1935 (*Arch. Camb.*, 1937, 116), was obtained from the material of the latest rampart. The only other finds were miscellaneous iron objects.

Period I is shown by the floor of an oval hut, as marked by a continuous black layer. Four post-holes for roof supports were found; there were two hearths, and paving occurred sporadically. Only minute pieces of burnt bone were recovered from this layer, but it underlies the rampart of period II, and thus, as at Breiddin Hill Camp, indicates that there was occupation of

the hill prior to the erection of the defences. Most of this hut was explored by enlarging section A. A similar layer in section B was not fully explored.

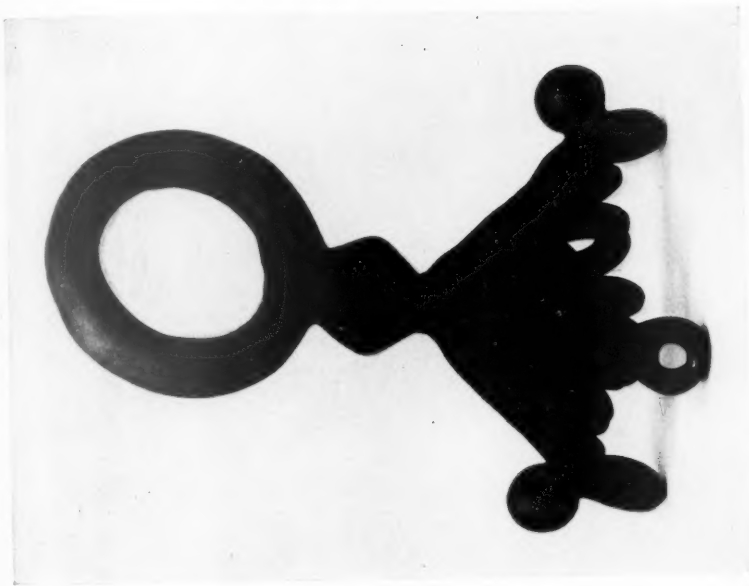
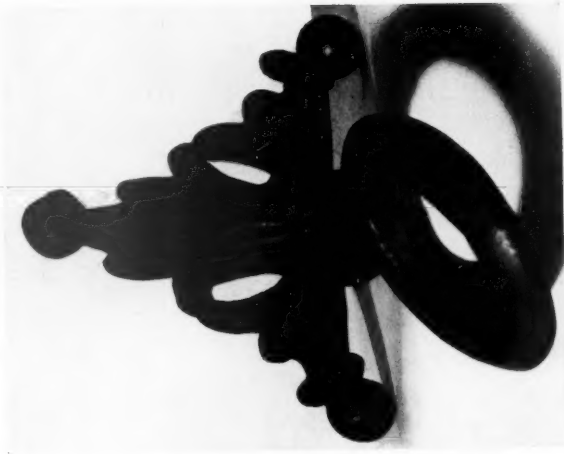
Period II witnessed the building of the first defensive system on the hill. The rampart was of stones with a small amount of soil, revetted on both faces by a dry-stone wall, usually not of shale (the natural rock) but of other stones, derived from the glacial drift, which occurs sporadically on the hill. In section B this wall, which nowhere now stands above 2 ft. in height, was 18 ft. thick. In section A, however, it was only 9 ft. thick, perhaps because here there was a second defence. In front of this rampart was a berm, 13 ft. or more wide, and a V-shaped ditch, originally 8 ft. or more deep. In both cases its outer lip had been removed during the refortification of period III. In section A the site of a second rampart (II), later entirely destroyed, was noted, and there was a second ditch, similar in character to the one just mentioned. A third line of defence may also have existed in this period.

In period III an addition was made to the front of ramparts I and II. The local shale and soil were heaped up and held in place by a binding of timbers, horizontal and vertical. The whole mass had then been fired and the result was what in Scotland is known as a vitrified fort. Only post-holes and a little burnt shale were found *in situ*, but a large quantity of shale and soil burnt to masses of clinker was recovered from the ditch. Many of these pieces show the impressions of tree-branches. Such clinker has been found on the surface of one or two camps in Merioneth but this is believed to be the first example of this type of fortification to be excavated in Wales, and perhaps in Britain outside Scotland. In front of rampart I a second ditch was dug at this time. Perhaps now for the first time a third defence was added. Its remains, a small rampart (partly burnt) and a fragment of ditch, the rest having been dug away in a later period, were found under the big rampart of periods IV and V. With the exception of this third rampart the foregoing description has dealt entirely with the inner camp.

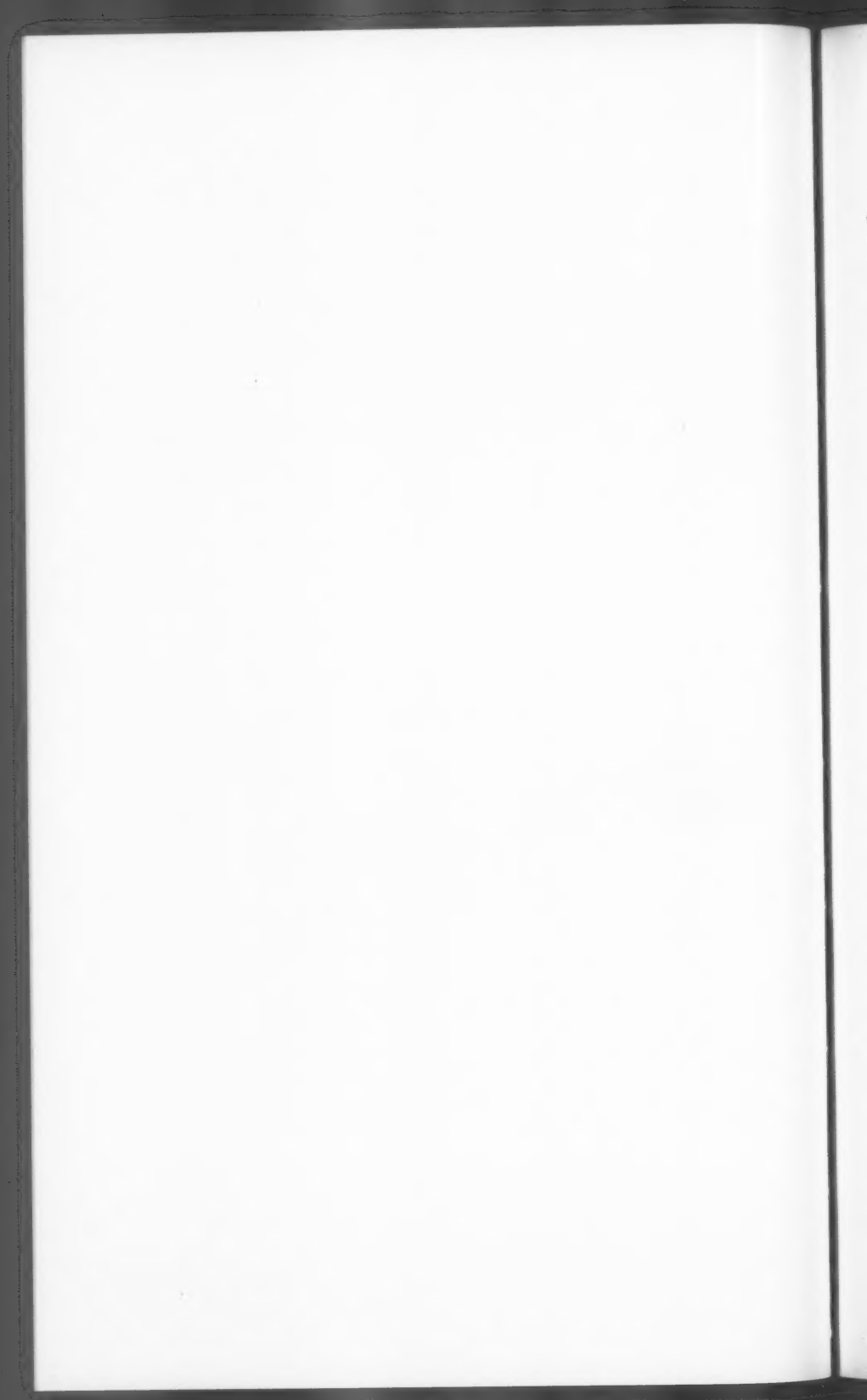
The larger outer fortifications, in places triple, are certainly later than the inner camp, since the rampart revetment wall of the largest work contained several large pieces of clinker from the vitrified fort, which were certainly re-used as mere rubbish.

In period IV this largest work, which still stands to a vertical height of 26 ft. above the bottom of the ditch, consisted of a mass of soil and shale fragments, revetted on both sides with dry-walling. The outer revetment was in poor condition, but the inner wall still remains, embedded in a later accumulation, to a height (including foundations) of 7 ft. 6 in. In front of this rampart there was a flat-bottomed ditch, 20 ft. broad and 10 ft. deep. Against the inner wall there was a thick layer of soil, which is perhaps the result of a deliberate levelling process. Upon this there had been occupation under the shelter of the rampart and there were traces of cobbled paving; on this pieces of a human skull were found.

In period V this floor and the inner revetment wall of the rampart, which had begun to collapse, were covered by another addition of shale and soil to heighten the rampart. No revetments of this period were noticed, and the character of the work suggests speed in a time of alarm, such as the period of the Roman conquest.



A twelfth-century bronze censer-top



A Romanesque Censer-top.—Dr. Philip Nelson sends the following note: In view of the great rarity of censer-tops of the Romanesque period it is desirable that any additional examples should be recorded. The massive, cast-bronze censer-top illustrated (pl. xxxiv) is shaped as a triangular pyramid and is surmounted by a large ring attached to a lenticular ornament. Each angle is formed by a formal acanthus leaf, which terminates beneath a ball. Under each corner is a ring, whilst a fourth ring occurs at the centre. The three corner rings gave attachment to the chains which supported the cup of the censer, whilst the central ring held the end of the chain which enabled the lid of the censer to be lifted for the introduction of the incense.

The example under consideration measures $3\frac{7}{16}$ in. in height, by $2\frac{13}{16}$ in. in width. It would appear that the date of this censer-top is the first half of the twelfth century,¹ and that it is of west German manufacture. In use the censer was not swung by the terminal ring but the chains were grasped beneath.

¹ Otto von Falke and Erich Meyer, *Bronzegeräte des Mittelalters*, i, figs. 10 a, 10 b.

Reviews

Ancient Egyptian Paintings, selected, copied, and described by NINA M. DAVIES, with the editorial assistance of ALAN H. GARDINER. Vols. i and ii. $23\frac{1}{4} \times 18\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. vi and plates 1-52; pp. xi and plates 53-104. Vol. iii, descriptive text. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xlviii + 210. Chicago: University Press; Cambridge: University Press, 1936. £10 10s.¹

Lest any one should be discouraged in considering this book by the statement of price, it may be said at the outset that ten guineas is a nominal figure, quite incommensurate not only with the cost of production but also with the value, from whatever point of view, of the three volumes. The title above by no means makes it clear that the reader is offered 102 plates, measuring just over 23×18 in., *in colour*; and the quality of the reproduction is as good as modern processes can make it. Of the fidelity, both in drawing and colour, of Mrs. de Garis Davies's original copies, readers of this journal need no assurance: her work, as exemplified in publications of the Metropolitan Museum of New York, has been reviewed here before on more than one occasion. She has put her life's work into this branch of art and made herself supreme in it. Indeed, many of the paintings have been reproduced in earlier publications; still more are known to a wider public from the exhibition of Mrs. Davies's original copies in the Third Egyptian Room of the British Museum. Quite apart, however, from the desirability of including in the present volume scenes already published, for the sake of comprehensiveness, in most cases there is an added advantage here in the increased size of the plate, which enables the student to discover considerably more detail for archaeological study than was visible before.

Dr. Gardiner's share in the publication is underestimated in the title. Quite apart from his many Egyptological contributions to the text volume, it is doubtful whether Mrs. Davies would ever have been able so completely to give herself to this work but for his encouragement and assistance. And it was presumably on his initiative that the late Professor Breasted and he persuaded Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to finance a publication which could have been undertaken only with the help of munificent patronage, and which could have been put within the reach of students only by being sold at a tithe of its proper value.

Enough has been said to show that we have here a unique monument to ancient Egyptian art, but it is only fair to the book not to overstate its scope. The title is non-committal. *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* might be merely a handful of works of art selected entirely to please the aesthetic judgement of the copyist. In fact, the preface makes it clear that the publication is essentially a collection of all the important copies made by Mrs. Davies since she started her work at Qurneh; to fill obvious lacunae, from the point of view of Egyptian masterpieces, which existed when the project of the work became practical politics, Mrs. Davies left her head-quarters to make special

¹ The price of the book has now been raised to £15, but the increase in price leaves the book still cheap enough for the cost of its production.

copies. But her work has been conducted almost entirely at Thebes and thus confined, not only to a single site (admittedly the most important in Egypt for painting), but also almost entirely to the New Kingdom. Consequently, although it was intended that in this publication 'the paintings should be selected from a wider field [than those in the familiar *Theban Tomb Series* and *Tytus Memorial Volumes*] and should cover the entire range of dynastic history', the period actually covered is only from 'the very beginning of the Fourth Dynasty (2700 B.C.) down to the end of the Twentieth Dynasty (1100 B.C.)'; the publication, therefore, does not claim to be a survey of the whole of Egyptian painting. Had that been intended, it would have been easier to agree with Dr. Gardiner that 'the Graeco-Roman mummy portraits belong to the art of Greece rather than to that of Egypt' than that the Hierakonpolis wall-paintings 'belong to pre-history rather than to the genuine Egyptian tradition', for in technique, at least, the latter are of the first importance for the study of dynastic paintings. But even within the period covered by our selection there are noticeable omissions. There are only four examples from the Old Kingdom and seven from the Middle. This is hardly representative of the Fourth Dynasty work at Giza and the Sixth at North and South Saqqara. The small number of Old Kingdom examples is explained by Dr. Gardiner as due to the fact that little painting exists from that period except on sculptured relief, and that in such cases the painting is secondary to the relief. But it is probably truer to say that both forms of art are secondary to 'ideological' representation, than either one to the other. In any case the excavations of the last few years at Saqqara, e.g. the newly discovered tomb-chamber of Mereruka, and some of the late Sixth Dynasty tombs attached to the Pepy cemetery at South Saqqara, show admirable examples of painting on flat walls in good condition, with a close connexion with the decoration of the insides of wooden coffins in the period immediately following. And even at Giza some most attractive and important pieces remain of finely painted limestone walls, dating from the early part of the Old Kingdom. One or two examples of this work would have improved the balance of the book within its actual scope. However, this is carping where only gratitude should be expressed.

For, in fact, the title quite understates the real scope of the book. Here, indeed, are the masterpieces of Egyptian painting reproduced for the most part on a large enough scale to be appreciated as such. This matter of scale is most important not merely for the sake of information on detailed points but for aesthetic enjoyment. I cannot altogether agree with the authors on the close affinity between the Mēdūm geese (of the time of Snofru) and the Amarna bird scenes, but certainly these three plates alone (pls. I, LXXV, LXXVI) would establish the art of the Egyptian painters as something worthy to be compared with the fine work of all ages. In them you have perhaps the finest expression of accurate observation, naturalism, and the sense of colour and design that is to be found in Egyptian painting. Elsewhere the wide range of Egyptian art is fully attested; its humour, its simplicity, its formalism, its sense of decoration, its magnificent power of line, and again and again its sense of colour, which so often cheerfully sacrifices any resemblance to the subject painted for the sake of what was felt to be a desirable

effect. It would be out of place to catalogue one's favourites here; it is enough to say that with a very few exceptions (included for the sake of archaeological information) every painting in the book has at least one of these qualities to commend it.

To many students these qualities will have been known, as are most of the paintings themselves. But there can be few who will not find in these reproductions new details of archaeological importance, that had not been available before; the book is at least as valuable for the student of Egyptology as for the student of art. The pictures are accompanied by a volume of descriptions in which, following a succinct statement of provenance, date, dimensions of original paintings, technical and bibliographical details, a general account of each plate is given, which will make it intelligible to the general reader, and which is so cross-referenced to other plates as to enable any one unacquainted with Egyptian studies not only to understand it, but also to obtain an idea of its place in the background of ancient Egyptian life. Indeed, a thorough study of these paintings and their descriptions from beginning to end would make an admirable introduction to the whole subject. In addition, almost every detail of importance, every object difficult to identify, every innovation of unique representation is commented on, frequently with valuable cross-references. These archaeological judgements will naturally not always win complete agreement, but where there can be disagreement it must be mostly a matter of opinion. The present reviewer, at all events, has had so many of his own inaccurate ideas corrected by a careful study of text and plates side by side that he ventures only the briefest queries: Pl. ix. Surely the hoopoe's crest is raised not only in flight but in little jerky movements as it perches on a tree? Pl. xii. Can the lion represented on the side of the base of the baldachin really represent the king who is sitting above?—is it not the idea that the fiercest of beasts is tamed to act as a body-guard to the king? Pl. xiv. Vaphio type of vase: the handles there represented indicate that these vessels can hardly have been pottery: similarly those in the same picture described as earthenware must also be of metal from the form of the handle. Pl. lviii. Surely Nubians, not negroes? Pl. lxi. Are not the bowls being offered to the guests, or beneath the chairs, and said to be for wine, really for water, since they are usually offered with a little napkin for drying the hands after use?

Finally, a minor criticism. A number of plates are included because they deal with the subject of foreigners from the Eastern Mediterranean area bringing tribute. Certain of them, there labelled 'Keftiu', or bearing objects of Minoan type, are described without question as Cretans. The reviewer is also on the side of the angels, but since this is still a matter of some controversy and one of great importance, a somewhat fuller account seems to be called for, with at any rate some reference to the discussion. And on this point is it not illogical to speak of the artist of the tomb of Menkheperresonb as a bad ethnologist on the ground that the physiognomy of the foreigners (pl. xxi) belies the hieroglyphic labels written above them, and at the same time to credit him with ability to differentiate between Syrian tribes in the next plate?

A word of praise should be added for the technical production of this superb book, of which the plates were made by the Chiswick Press and the

text printed and the volumes bound by that of Oxford University. The University of Chicago and Cambridge University Presses are responsible for its publication in the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom respectively.

S. R. K. G.

Schweden und das Karolingische Reich. Studien zu den Handelsverbindungen des 9. Jahrhunderts. VON HOLGAR ARBMAN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. 271. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 43. Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1937.

Carolingian art had little effect on the pagan Germans of the north, for there was nothing in the heathen lands that could be expected to respond to the fundamental aesthetic emotion that occasioned the great Frankish renaissance. There was no architecture, no sculpture, no manuscript-painting; nothing, I mean, already sympathetically 'Romanesque'; nothing in the least like the buildings and crosses and illuminations that the Church had given to us in this island, even before Charles the Great was crowned, to serve as the vehicles of an often classically biased English art. Accordingly, the results of the contacts between Germans and Franks in the time of the Carolingian renaissance, whether these were due to trade or warfare or the luckless labours of the missionary Anskar in Denmark and Sweden, are not of much note, and do little more than confirm the importance of the Viking towns Hedely and Birka as the principal centres of exchange with the outside world. But archaeologically the material is of real interest. Indeed, in some respects it even tells us more than is to be found out from the archaeology of the Frankish lands, and Dr. Arbman in this particularly helpful book has, for instance, been able to extend our knowledge of Carolingian glass and pottery by his exhaustive study of the abundant finds made in the north. He wisely devotes almost a half of his text and illustrations to this glass and ceramics section, and gives us an admirable account of material that has hitherto proved very difficult to date and classify; so much so that it would certainly be imprudent for any one in the future to write about the Frankish wares without reference to this book. But when we come to metalwork and minor personal ornaments old difficulties arise that have not been dispelled by new discoveries, and in this section, though I value very highly Dr. Arbman's industrious and thorough description of the material, I do not feel that our knowledge has been much advanced. I should like to suggest, for example, that the problem of the origin of the Gipping Beast style of the north would be less puzzling if, instead of searching for a posited Frankish starting-point for the achieved style, we accustom ourselves to regard this style as a complex phenomenon made up of an 'animal plasticity' plus a barbaric 'drollery' of clutching and biting animal-forms; for whereas the origin of the first is undoubtedly a result of the influence of a newly introduced Carolingian sculptural sensibility (or, for that matter, an English one, since the Vikings saw plenty of plastically conceived lions and other quadrupeds in Northumbria and East Mercia), the 'drollery' element, on the other hand, is completely barbaric in temper, and must have its origin in a conceptually barbaric style. It can, in fact, be seen in evolution in the barbaric elements of English art during the eighth century, witness the gradual change

from the restrained behaviour of the animal-headed serifs in the Lindisfarne Gospels to the whirring, biting, clutching maze of animal-letters in Mercian manuscripts of c. 800 like the Roman Gospels. The Gripping Beast panel of the Rothbury cross is another manifestation of the same feeling in English art, and the 'drollery' element in the Scandinavian counterpart seems to me, therefore, to be adequately explained as a cognate expression of a general and pervasive period-style in 'North Sea' barbaric art.

After talk like this it is perhaps a little hard that I should go on to accuse Dr. Arbman of attributing far too much to English influence; but it seems necessary to observe that we now know that metalwork of the type of the Lindau Gospel-cover and the Fejå cup is not English. In 1923 Brøndsted's remarks concerning the possible South English origin of these pieces were sound and sensible, and, indeed, a natural corollary to his brilliant pioneer account of our eighth- and ninth-century antiquities; but since that date we have become much better acquainted with the material, and we have recognized that these pieces are not to be attributed to the Wessex of Egbert and Ethelwulf. Such ornaments as Dr. Arbman's Tf. 43, 1 and Tf. 44, 1-3 are in our eyes purely northern works, representing a (to us) distinctly idiomatic Dano-Frankish style, and we see no direct English influence in them; though we should naturally agree that their Frankish element is ultimately based on an Hiberno-Saxon style. In this connexion I have sometimes wondered why it is that the Danes have not claimed the Lindau cover as the work of one of their own countrymen working in some Frankish monastery, and now that I see the various other examples of the same style of metalwork that have been found in Denmark, I feel that the case for a northern origin is much strengthened. But it is not my business here to say more than that this cover must not be used as an example of an English style, and I pass on to note gratefully that Dr. Arbman's survey of the Carolingian 'acanthus metalwork' is of peculiar value to us, though I think he might have given us his opinion about the charming Cloughton Hall brooch (*Saga Book of the Viking Society*, xi (1935), 121) which undoubtedly belongs to the series. The author's study of the filigree-work and the allied types of jewellery is easily the best existing account of the material and is most instructive; but in connexion with ornaments of the type of Tf. 62, 17 and Tf. 61, 2, which bear a spiraliform decoration made of a deep vertically set ribbon of metal with a milled upper edge, I should like to call Dr. Arbman's attention to a pair of similarly fashioned gold roundels from the Lilla Howe burial in Yorkshire (Liverpool Museum) that were found with four ninth-century silver strap-ends published by Mr. Leeds (*Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, iv (1911), 1).

T. D. KENDRICK.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. United States of America, Fascicule 6. The Robinson Collection, Baltimore, Maryland. Fascicule 2. By DAVID MOORE ROBINSON. 13 x 10. Pp. 38, 57 plates (six in colours). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford; Paris: E. Champion, 1937.

Fascicule 1 of this Collection appeared in 1934, and was reviewed in vol. xiv of the *Antiquaries Journal*, p. 316. It gives us much pleasure to

notice the newly published second fascicule, especially as it contains the gems of the collection. These include many of the finest products of the red-figure artists, dating from the time when the art was at its best; some had been known to scholars before Dr. Robinson acquired them, and others have become known since they entered his collection. But it is most satisfactory to have them included in one volume, and so beautifully illustrated. As none of these is of later date than about 420 B.C., a third and final fascicule will follow in due course.

The volume includes examples of the signed work of several of the best artists, such as Epiktetos, Phintias, and Polygnotos, and others recognizable in other ways. Dr. Robinson has also had the advantage of Professor Beazley's invaluable work on the unsigned vases, which enables nearly all of them to be classified and assigned to their creators, who have received individual, if sometimes whimsical, names, such as the Kiss painter and the Flying Angel painter.

If in any way the work of this period may seem to lack interest, it is in the subjects depicted, which are mostly *genre* scenes of single figures and perhaps somewhat monotonous. But this is largely atoned for by the exquisite drawing, and by the way in which simple motives are adapted to the production of infinitely varied and sometimes astonishing results. This is perhaps more true of the drinking-cups (pls. 1, xxi). Pl. xxiv gives an amphora on the older black-figure lines with a charming figure of Athena. Another interesting subject is Midas judging Seilenos (pl. xxix). Pl. xxxi gives the story of Theseus' visit to Poseidon, perhaps illustrating an existing ode by Bacchylides, and pl. xxxv similarly seems to be based on a scene in Aeschylus' *Choephori* (19-20).

The get-up of the whole volume is of the best, and the coloured plates in particular deserve every commendation, while the descriptive text is most helpful. May we point out to Professor Robinson that the word *Sakkos* as applied to a woman's head-dress is purely an archaeological myth (see Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*). It might well be now replaced by the good English word 'coif'. Finally, we again beg for a more effective version of the American eagle on the cover.

H. B. W.

The Victoria History of the County of Sussex. Edited by L. F. Salzman, M.A., F.S.A. Volume nine, *The Rape of Hastings*. 12 × 8½. Pp. xv + 279. London: Oxford University Press, for the University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1937. £2 2s.

With this issue the *Victoria County History* reaches its hundredth volume. It is thus a suitable occasion to congratulate the present editor of the series and the learned world in general that this great undertaking has taken on a new lease of life, the impetus of which may well carry it to a triumphant conclusion.

The present volume includes only the Rape of Hastings and is numbered ix in accordance with the system of numbering the Rapes from W. to E.; the only other topographical volume which has yet appeared includes the city of Chichester.

The Rape of Hastings includes many of the best-known places in the

county, Hastings, Rye, Winchelsea, Battle, Herstmonceux, and Bodiam, but also many interesting places which are but little visited.

Of the larger buildings the account of Battle Abbey by the late Sir Harold Brakspear is the first scientific account of the building to be published, and includes the results of the author's excavations on the site.

Otherwise the volume reveals the unusual richness of the county in medieval and later houses, a richness which was largely unknown to the natives themselves.

The historical portions of the work maintain the high level of past achievement, and the volume has all the accustomed richness of illustrations, plans, and heraldry. A. C.

The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History. By T. F. TOUT, M.A., F.B.A. Second edition, revised throughout by Hilda Johnstone, M.A. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xx+375. Manchester: at the University Press, 1936. 21s.

When it was decided by the Manchester University Press to publish a second edition of the above, Professor Hilda Johnstone was invited to undertake the work. It is certain that no more suitable choice could have been made for the revision of Professor Tout's able contribution to our knowledge of the administrative side of this period, for not only was she associated with him for thirteen years, first as pupil and afterwards as colleague, but an intimate acquaintance with him and his methods during many years, added to her own studies in the same period of history, have rendered her a very efficient interpreter of the views of her old teacher. She has also had the use of the notes and queries with which he covered the margins and fly-leaves of his own copy. Professor Johnstone has dealt very reverently with the text, and only made such alterations as he would have made himself. They are very few and are indicated by square brackets. It is in the footnotes that most of the additions occur, and her references to publications, the result of recent historical research, which have appeared since the first edition was published, will be found very helpful. Another and very welcome improvement appears in the List of Officials, where the authorities given are set out in a clearer manner. Not the least of the advantages with which this edition presents us is in the checking of the enormous quantity of references and quotations contained in this work. The reader is thus spared what is often a real feeling of irritation. Professor Johnstone is to be heartily congratulated on the skill with which she has treated a difficult task.

H. W.

London Wall Through Eighteen Centuries. A History of the Ancient Town Wall of the City of London. By WALTER G. BELL, F. COTTRILL, and CHARLES SPON. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. 124. London: Simpkin Marshall, 1937. 3s. 6d.

London Wall is a source of constant interest to the antiquary, and a source of constant inquiry to the visitor to the city. This admirable little book should be welcomed by both, for the scholarship of its authors is a guarantee to the antiquary that its information will be trustworthy, and the simplicity

and clearness in which the story of the Wall is told cannot but convey to the visitor the information he requires. The book is happily planned by its chapters, which treat of (1) Where to find the Wall, (2) The Roman Wall of London, (3) London Wall in Medieval Times, and (4) The Wall in Tudor and Later Times. The map of the Wall is clear and easy to follow: the Wall defined in red and the numbering setting forth the various gates, bastions, alteration of its line, and the portion still accessible to visitors. The illustrations are happily chosen; Mr. Moore's drawings are full of life, and a useful index completes a useful book. S. W. W.

Medieval Spanish Enamels and their relation to the origin and the development of copper champlevé enamels of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By W. L. HILDBURGH, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A. 11¼ × 8¾. Pp. xiv + 146. London: Milford, 1936. 16s.

In *Medieval Spanish Enamels* Dr. W. L. Hildburgh attempts 'to set in its, presumably, rightful place in the history of medieval industrial art an important group of objects, some of great beauty, which hitherto have been commonly accepted as either made in south-central France—at Limoges or in the districts thereabout—or by migrant craftsmen from that region; or, occasionally, and then hesitatingly, as made in Spain but under strong "Limousin" inspiration'.

After a brief summary of methods for producing enamels, Dr. Hildburgh points out that little is really known, compared with what has been inferred, concerning medieval enamelling in the Limousin, and underlines the various incertitudes in the commonly accepted history of that subject. From this he turns to a discussion, more detailed than has been previously attempted in English, of medieval Spanish enamels on gold, the 'oriental' elements of the copper champlevé enamels, and the twelfth-century and later copper champlevé enamels of Spain. The reader can only be grateful for the account and reproductions of the altar-frontal (or retable) from Santo Domingo de Silos, now in the Burgos Museum, the retable of San Miguel in Excelsis, and the Orense plaques—all champlevé enamels of the highest order, all still in Spain and not far from the places for which they seem to have been specially made. With the description of these enamels Dr. Hildburgh presents a series of arguments in support of the chief thesis of his book: 'that the claims made repeatedly by supporters of the Limousin hypothesis, that these three monuments were made either in France or by French craftsmen, have, in fact, far less justification than claims that they were made in Spain and presumably by Spanish craftsmen'.

There seem to be no contemporary documents which prove anything specific about the *manufacture* of enamels in Spain. Both Dr. Hildburgh and Mr. M. C. Ross of the Walters Art Gallery at Baltimore have looked for them, but, so far as I know, without success. Documents of the early twelfth century show the *existence* of enamels at Santiago, or, as Dr. Hildburgh puts it, 'show pretty clearly that copper champlevé enamel, or something very like it, was being done at (or for) Santiago de Compostela at least as early as 1122'. The difficulty of arguing from documents about the manufacture of enamels is clearly shown by the prudent insertion between parentheses of

two short words. Other means of proof must be found to establish the Spanish origin of this group of objects. To this end Dr. Hildburgh points out iconographical and stylistic connexions between the enamels and Mozarabic manuscripts, and brings up a variety of ingenious arguments. In the Silos frontal there are applied heads in high relief and without enamelling for figures whose other parts are flat and enamelled. The Spanish liking for work of this kind is shown by the mural painting of the Crucifixion which once decorated the west wall of the Cámara Santa at Oviedo, where the heads of the figures were of stone carved in high relief, and by the ivory 'Arca de San Felices', formerly at San Millán de la Cogolla, where the heads of the figures are in much higher relief than the bodies. Dr. Hildburgh further sees Spanish physical characteristics in the heads of the Silos frontal.

Another argument is afforded by the Moorish ivory casket decorated with enamel plaques, which was taken from Silos to the Burgos Museum in the last century. The casket, which was made in 1026, probably at Cuenca, was repaired at a later date with enamelled plaques and bands of copper. At one end is a plaque representing Santo Domingo de Silos, plainly labelled, between two angels. An ivory casket is, of course, portable, but it seems unlikely that this one should have been sent any great distance for mending, and the plaque bearing the figure of a local Castilian saint certainly suggests that the repairs in enamel may have been done in the neighbourhood.

Dr. Hildburgh's arguments in favour of Santo Domingo de Silos as a centre of enamel-making are ingenious and plausible, yet it is hard to be convinced by them. The hypothesis is seductive to a degree, in view of the place, its works of art, and its Benedictine guardians, but visits totalling more than six months during the past ten years have made me feel that in spite of the sculptures, the manuscripts, the metalwork, and the enamels there is still no proof that Silos was an artistic industrial centre. The documents lend themselves to interpretation, but never quite prove one's point.

In all of these matters, however, there is a possibility of further discussion, as Dr. Hildburgh recognizes in his Preface, where he expresses the hope that the publication of his theories, which were originally developed in a series of lectures at University College, London, in 1934, 'may encourage the examination of Spanish potential sources of evidence in the matter, with special intent to obtain further information applicable—and whether in support or the reverse—to those views'. There is, alas, grimmer work being carried on in Spain to-day, but we shall yet hear more from that country about its medieval art.

W. M. WHITEHILL.

Periodical Literature

Antiquity, September 1937:—The early history of writing, by S. H. Hooke; The Horn of Ulph, by T. D. Kendrick; The battlefield of Brunanburgh, by W. S. Angus; Some stone monuments, by C. W. Phillips; The bee-hive tombs of Mezek, by B. Filov; The Mexican Indian flying game, by R. Gallop; The ruined towns of Somaliland, by A. T. Curle; The Syrian city of Til-Barsib, by M. E. L. Mallowan; Pile-houses; Arab map of the British Isles; Pots and culture; A passage on sculpture by Diodorus of Sicily; Early rock-cut tombs in Ireland; The Indus civilization; Symposium on early man, Philadelphia; Carved stones, British Somaliland; White quartz pebbles as funerary offerings; Chilean baking-oven; Excavations at Vounous, Cyprus; Byzantium; Origin of our alphabet.

Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, Autumn 1937:—Uniforms and equipment of the Royal Scots Greys, iii, 1800–1829, by Rev. P. Sumner; The Duchess of Gordon's recruiting bonnet, by J. M. Bulloch; Regimental orders for dress, 25th Foot, 1796 and 1828, by Rev. P. Sumner; An old standard of the Life Guards raised in Edinburgh, 1661, by Major I. H. M. Scobie; The art of war in the sixteenth century, by C. T. Atkinson; Uniforms and equipment of the 15th Light Dragoons, 1800 to 1813, by Rev. P. Sumner.

British Museum Quarterly, vol. 11, no. 3:—Bronzes from the Eumorfopoulos collection; Pu-Tai Ho-Shang; Two Chinese bronzes; The later Al Mina pottery; Early sculptures from Iraq; Three Persian armlets; Selsey Treasure Trove; Greek coins; Italian Renaissance medals; Archives of the Stafford family.

The Burlington Magazine, August 1937:—The Giac Book of Hours, by A. Heimann; The Inn at Bethlehem: a drawing of the Mogul school, by A. P. Charles; A note on Maestro Benedetto and his work at Siena, by R. L. Douglas.

September 1937: The west portal of San Vicente at Avila, by W. Goldschmidt; Rare woodcuts in the Ashmolean Museum, vi, by Campbell Dodgson.

October 1937:—Two models of Chinese homesteads, by A. Bulling; A faenza panel in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The Connoisseur, August 1937:—Rupert, Prince Palatine, by C. R. Cammell; A Sheldon mantelpiece, by F. S. Eden; The Richborough bagpipes, by C. R. Beard; The Harmonica delecta, by M. L. Playfoot.

September 1937:—Illuminated Portuguese maps, by A. Cortesão; Early European automatons, i, by W. Born; Lowestoft china, i, blue and white decoration, by A. J. B. Kiddell; The Airthrey gold cup.

October 1937:—Some plate in the west of England, by C. C. Oman; The Wittelsbach tapestries, by Capt. C. L. Robert; Lowestoft china, ii, coloured decoration, by A. J. B. Kiddell; The claidheamh-mor, by I. Finlay.

The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, vol. 23, part 1:—A family stela in

the University Museum, Philadelphia, by P. Miller; The art of the third and fifth dynasties, by K. Pflüger; The Bremner-Rhind papyrus, ii, by R. O. Faulkner; The paintings of the chapel of Atet at Medum, by W. S. Smith; Notes on myrrh and stacte, by A. Lucas; The papyrus of Khnumhab in University College, London, by A. W. Shorter; An analysis of the Petrie collection of ancient weights, by A. S. Hemmy; The gender of tens and hundreds in late Egyptian, by J. Černý; Two puzzles of Ramesside hieratic, by J. Černý; *Μερισμός, Ἀνακεχωρηκότων*: an aspect of the Roman oppression of Egypt, by N. Lewis; An Oxyrhyncus document acknowledging repayment of a loan, by P. H. de Lacy; Bibliographies, by M. N. Tod and De L. O'Leary.

Folk-Lore, September 1937:—Some aspects of the folk-lore of prehistoric monuments, by L. V. Grinsell.

The Genealogists' Magazine, vol. 7, no. 11:—Bacon deeds at Gorhambury, by Rev. C. Moor; Continuity of records in an Anglo-Irish family, by M. C. Golding Bright; The oldest earldoms and their representatives, by W. T. J. Gun; Fasti of the Irish Presbyterian church.

The Geographical Journal, vol. 90, no. 4:—Factors in the development of the Cotswold woollen industry, by R. P. Beckinsale.

Journal of the British Society of Master Glass-painters, vol. 7, no. 1:—Stained glass: an introduction to its history and appreciation, by Dom C. Norris; A medieval campaign against blasphemy, by Rev. C. Woodforde; Secular pedigree windows, by F. S. Eden; Medieval glass in Holme-by-Newark church, Notts., iii, by N. Truman; 'Vitrail' (stained glass), by Viollet-Le-Duc, translated from the French by L. B. Holland; Horace Walpole and his collection of stained glass at Strawberry Hill, by J. A. Knowles.

The English Historical Review, October 1937:—Economic rationalism in Graeco-Roman agriculture, by G. Mickwitz; Parliamentary petitions in the fifteenth century, ii, by A. R. Myers; Religion and politics in the German Imperial cities during the Reformation, ii, by H. Baron; The Royalists under the Protectorate, by the late Sir Charles Firth; The election of Richard of Cornwall as senator of Rome in 1261, by F. R. Lewis; Simon Burley and Baldwin of Raddington, by N. B. Lewis; Manuscripts of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, by B. L. Ullman; Bolingbroke and the d'Iberville correspondence, August 1714 to June 1715, by H. N. Fieldhouse.

History, September 1937:—Notes on the pronunciation of medieval Latin in England, by G. H. Fowler; Recent developments in Crusading historiography, by T. S. R. Boase; The beginning of English colonization in America, by W. L. Burn; Historical revision, lxxxii, The Inquisition up to date, by Prof. G. G. Coulton.

Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, vol. 15, no. 4:—Dr. Michel Malard, the proselyte, by R. A. Austen-Leigh; Mémoires Inédits d'Abraham Tessereau, by T. P. Le Fanu; Huguenots and Puritans, by Prof. R. B. Mowat; Huguenots and the stage, by E. C. Fâche; The sixteenth-century English-speaking refugee churches at Strasbourg, Basle, Zürich, Aarau, Wesel, and Emden, by H. J. Cowell.

The Library, new series, vol. 18, no. 2:—Juan de Vingles (Jean de

Vingle): a sixteenth-century book illustrator, by H. Thomas; The Prymer in English, by E. Birchenough; The Flye 1569, by E. F. Bosanquet; The type-specimen books of Claude Lamesle and Nicholas Gando, by A. F. Johnson; Christopher Smart, Richard Rolt and *The Universal Visiter*, by C. Jones.

Man, September 1937:—Two Neolithic implements of unusual size, by H. Field; Red painted pottery from Cochin state, by K. G. Menon; Prehistoric remains on historic sites of India and the Near East, by S. Corbiau.

October 1937:—Osiris and his rites, by G. D. Hornblower; A Y-shaped point in Natal and a big palette from the Transvaal, by Abbé Breuil.

The Mariner's Mirror, vol. 23, no. 4:—William Bligh at Camperdown, by Rear-Admiral A. H. Taylor; British corvettes of 1875: the last wooden class, by Admiral G. A. Ballard; The Peterhead whaling ship *Eclipse*, by J. Gray; The striped flag of the East India Company, and its connexion with the American 'Stars and Stripes', by Sir Charles Fawcett; Josiah Burchett, secretary to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, 1695–1742, by G. F. James.

Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica, 5th ser., vol. 9, part 11:—The Washingtons of Sulgrave; Confirmation of arms and grant of crest to Lacock; Herefordshire pedigrees; Four Westminster wills; Pedigrees and heraldic notes from the collections of Gregory King, Lancaster Herald; Pedigree of Moyle of Bake, St. Germans, Cornwall; Administrations of the Archdeaconry of Northampton.

Numismatic Chronicle, 5th ser., vol. 17, part 2: Gold medallions of Lysimachus and kindred forgeries, by K. Pink; Coins of Olbia, by E. S. G. Robinson; Pelinna: an early Thessalian mint, by W. Schwabacher; A litra of Entella, by H. A. Cahn; The *vota*-legends on the Roman coinage, by J. W. E. Pearce; The Greek coins from Exeter reconsidered, by R. G. Goodchild and J. G. Milne; A hoard of Alexandrine coins from Guernsey, by E. S. G. Robinson; The Roman coins from Exeter, by R. G. Goodchild; New papyri of numismatic interest, by G. Mickwitz; The autonomous shekels of Tyre, by Sir George Hill; Notes on two hoards of Roman coins from Carrawburgh, Northumberland, by G. Askew; A tetradrachm of Antiochus Epiphanes reissued by Antiochus VI, by Rev. E. A. Sydenham.

Palestine Exploration Quarterly, October 1937:—Excavations at Tell ed Duweir, by J. L. Starkey; Notes on the Bedouin tribes of Beersheba district, by S. Hillelson; Some objects from Transjordan, by L. Harding; Note on a new type of Æ coin from Petra, by A. S. Kirkbride; The technical questions of the 'Huleh problem', by E. A. Webber; A note on Palestinian epigraphy, by T. H. Gaster; Palestine's new lighterage ports, by H. J. Shepstone.

Associated Architectural Societies' Reports, vol. 42:—Conan son of Ellis, an early inhabitant of Holbeach, by Miss Kathleen Major; Grainthorpe, by Rev. R. C. Dudding; The swan marks of Lincolnshire, by N. F. Ticehurst; Lathbury church, by Rev. C. Ryder-Macnally; Early Northamptonshire clergy, by Rev. H. I. Longden; Early land charters of Rippingale, ii, by G. H. Fowler; The hospital of Holy Innocents without

Lincoln, by F. W. Brooks; Ludborough, by Rev. R. C. Dudding; William Wright of Charing Cross, sculptor, by Mrs. Esdaile; The Parliamentary enclosures of Lindsey, i, by T. H. Swales.

The Cambridge Historical Journal, vol. 5, no. 3:—Alod and Fee, by J. E. A. Jolliffe; Elections to the Convention Parliament of 1688–9, by J. H. Plumb; Lord North and Mr. Robinson in the year 1779, by H. Butterfield; Russia's new policy in the Near East after the Peace of Adrianople, by Prof. R. J. Kerner; The first German colony and its diplomatic consequences, by W. O. Aydelotte; More light on the Pact of Osborne, 9 August 1857, by H. Temperley.

Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle, October 1937:—Robert Winchelsey, archdeacon of Essex and archbishop-elect of Canterbury; A translation from Register Q in the cathedral library, by W. P. Blore; The great cloister at Norwich; Description of the Becket bosses, Norwich cathedral, by E. W. Tristram.

Journal of the Chester and North Wales Archaeological Society, new ser., vol. 32, part 1:—On the importance of fourteenth-century planning in the construction of the churches of Cheshire, by F. H. Crossley; The Quarter Sessions records of the County Palatine of Chester, by J. C. Dewhurst; Chester and the navigation of the Dee, 1600–1750, by T. S. Willan.

The Essex Review, October 1937:—The monument at Colne Park, by L. C. Sier; A Brightlingsea dinner plate, 1749; A Dutch bay-seal from Halstead, by A. Hills; Ancient chapel at Great Horkesley; Heraldry at Howbridge Hall, Witham, by C. Partridge; Piepowder courts in Colchester, by Sir Gurney Benham; Harlow in the middle ages, by Rev. J. L. Fisher; Tax commissioners for Essex in 1695, by A. R. J. Ramsey; The romance of Rochford, by J. Scott; The Book of the Foundation of Walden abbey, by H. Collar; Mouthpiece of a Roman trumpet found at Colchester.

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, vol. 21, no. 2:—Shakespeare's Comedies: the consummation, by H. B. Charlton; Henry of Lancaster and his 'Livre des Seintes Medicines', by E. J. F. Arnould; What is a peasantry? by H. J. Fleure; Cusanus the Theologian, by E. F. Jacob; Notes and extracts from the Semitic MSS. in the Rylands Library, iv, Zainab as-Safawiyah, a Samaritan poetess, by E. Robertson; Don Isaac Abravanel: financier, statesman, and scholar, 1437–1937, by E. I. J. Rosenthal; Notes on some Arabic MSS. in the Rylands Library, by E. I. J. Rosenthal.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 4th ser., vol. 8, no. 3:—Mid-nineteenth-century Hexham, by W. W. Gibson; Note on an iron-bound chest and its donor, by J. Oxberry.

Sussex Notes and Queries, vol. 6, no. 7:—A chapel of the knights of St. John at Eastbourne, by Rev. W. Budgen; Broadwater parish accounts; The eastern end of the Ridgeway between Rye and Uckfield, by W. M. Homan; The wool trade of Chichester, 1377–80, by R. A. Pelham; An African culture in Sussex, by E. Straker; Horsham church, chantries and altars, by W. H. Godfrey; Sussex entries in London parish registers, by W. H. Challen; Sussex church plans, xli, St. Mary, Horsham; The Romans in Thorney, Sussex, by S. E. Winbolt; A lost Tudor iron furnace found; The Barcombe Mills–Runcton Roman road; Barcombe Mills Roman pottery;

The Long Man of Wilmington; The Sussex coast in 1698; The monument at West Walton.

Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, Herefordshire, vol. for 1933, 4, 5, part 2:—The Freeman's prison at the Boothall, Hereford, by A. Watkins; Flint workers and flint users in the Golden Valley, by R. S. G. Robinson; Stonemasons: Walter of Hereford, by G. H. Jack; Interim report on the excavation of an Iron Age camp at Poston, Vowchurch, Herefordshire, by G. Marshall; Copy of a deed by Richard Philips, dated 1535, by F. R. James and G. Marshall.

Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society, 1936:—The place of Anglesey in the matter of early British music, by E. Owen; A survey of the poems of Syr Dafydd Trefor, by Irene George; A vindication of the author of *Mona Antiqua*, by Rev. W. Garel-Jones; Gruffydd Jones's circulating schools in Anglesey, by H. Owen; U.C.N.W. library, Bangor, special collections, by T. Richards; The cromlech at Cromlech farm, Llanfdechell; Manor courts instructions; Seventeenth-century heirlooms; Menai Straits timber bridge.

Volume for 1937:—Saint Gwenfaen's well, by F. H. Glazebrook; The diary of Bulkeley of Dronwy, Anglesey, 1630-6, by H. Owen; A list of Anglesey wills, 1700-89, E-G, by H. Owen; Capel St. Ffraid, Trearddur Bay.

Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society, part 64:—Llanfair-ar-y-bryn: Llwynhywel chapel, by J. F. Jones; Two bronzes and a flint from Sussex, by Eliot Curwen; Syddall, bishop of St. Davids, 1731, Claggett, bishop of St. Davids, 1732-42, by G. Eyre Evans; The Black mountain: a study in rural life and economy, by E. Davies; Capel Llandyrri, Penbre, by J. F. Jones; Bishop Lewis Bayly and his sons, by H. Grey-Edwards.

Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. 43, section C, no. 13:—The evolution of penannular brooches with zoomorphic terminals in Great Britain and Ireland, by H. E. Kilbride-Jones.

Volume 44, section C, no. 1:—The sermon-diary of Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Armagh, by A. Gwynn.

Journal of the West China Border Research Society, vol. 8:—The Wheel of Life, by R. Cunningham; The use of stones in primitive worship, by T. Torrance; Historic notes on the P'o Jên (Beh Ren), by D. C. Graham; An excavation at Suifu, by D. C. Graham; Art transfers in China, by D. S. Dye; The costly coffins of Chien Ch'ang, by T. Cook; Recent changes among the temples of Mt. Omei, by D. C. Graham.

American Journal of Archaeology, vol. 41, no. 3: A newly discovered Nabatean temple at Atargatis and Hadad at Khirbet et-Tannûr, Transjordan, by N. Glueck; Herodotus, i, 94: a Phocæan version of an Etruscan tale, by Louise A. Holland; American caves and cave-dwellers, by G. G. MacCurdy; The Hermes mosaic from Antioch, by E. C. Schenck; Boccaccio's archaeological knowledge, by Cornelia C. Coulter; Nine terra sigillata bowls from Egypt, by H. Comfort; Mycenaean cult scenes, by E. Herkewrath; The marriage of Zeus and Hera and its symbol, by G. W. Elderkin; The shield of Argos, by Irene R. Arnold; Iron: prehistoric and

ancient, by A. Hertz and H. C. Richardson; A new Cleopatra tetradrachm of Ascalon, by Agnes B. Brett; News items from Athens, by Elizabeth P. Blegen; News items from Rome, by A. W. Van Buren.

Research Studies of the State College of Washington, vol. 5, no. 1:—Henry VIII and the Imperial election of 1519, by H. E. Blinn.

Vol. 5, no. 2:—Vaudeville on the London Stage, 1700–37, by E. L. Avery.

Old-Time New England, vol. 28, no. 2:—Reflections of New England's architecture in Ohio, by F. J. Roos; Problems and responsibilities of restoration, by Alice G. B. Lockwood; American japanned furniture, by J. Downs; The Valentine-Fuller house, by J. B. Wheelwright; Boston street lighting in the eighteenth century, by L. L. Thwing.

Académie royale de Belgique: Bulletin de la Classe des Beaux-Arts, vol. 19, no. 7:—The aesthetic tendency of medieval music, by C. van den Borren.

Bulletin des Musées royaux, Bruxelles, 3rd ser., vol. 9, no. 3:—The introduction of the Renaissance style into glass in the Austro-Spanish period, by J. Helbig; Attic funerary plaques, by V. Verhoogen; An Iranian collar in 'pâte de verre', by L. Speleers.

Revue Bénédictine, tome 49, no. 2:—Poems by Gautier de Châtillon in a manuscript at Charleville, by A. Wilmart; The translation of the relics of St. Donatian to Bruges, by P. Grierson; Note on the Morimond manuscript of the works of St. Cyprian, by M. Bévenot; An unpublished dedicatory poem by Lambert of Moyenmoutier, by C. Barlow; The chronicle of Ortlieb von Zwiefalten, by L. Wallach; Bibliography of Benedictine history, v, by P. Schmitz.

Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France, vol. 80:—Joan of Arc, patroness of leaguers: the sword of Joan of Arc in the Dijon museum, by J. de la Martinière; The supposed epilepsy of Julius Caesar, by Dr. Donnadieu; The toga, by V. Chafrot; The filling up of the Roman gate at Fréjus, by J. Formigé; The present state of the question of the brothers van Eyck, by P. Faider; Military rations in the Roman Empire in the third century, by D. Van Berchem; A dynasty of artists: the Biarts, by H. Stein; Supplementary note on chronograms on medals of the fifteenth century, by J. Babelon; Supplementary note on chronograms in fifteenth-century manuscripts, by C. Samaran.

Revue Anthropologique, tome 47, nos. 1–3 (janvier–mars 1937):—An article by Georges Poisson deals with the relations in pre-Aryan times between India and the Mediterranean basin; and Commandant Octobon describes the neolithic finds in the Grotte de Bedeilhac, Ariège. The illustrations include implements of stone and bone, especially a shoulder-blade said to have been used as a sickle.

Nos. 4–6 (avril–juin 1937):—The hafting of early palaeolithic implements is discussed by M. Vayson de Pradenne, who classifies the various forms assumed by the point of a hand-axe, and concludes from modern examples that the hand was protected by wood, leather, gum, or other material attached to the stone. Two skeletons attributed to the period of Le Campigny are described by Dr. Baudouin. They were found at St. Piat, Eure-et-Loir, in yellow clay; and the geology is given in detail, but the following

statement shows how expert opinions may differ: 'I hold that the Upper Neolithic began at least 13 or 14 thousand years B.C.: if so, the skeletons are at least 15 to 20 thousand years B.C., long before the last neolithic glaciation.'

Nos. 7-9 (juillet-septembre 1937):—A report on the skeletons from a neolithic ossuary at Combe Cullier (Lacave, Lot) is contributed by Susanne de Mortillet, with photographs and measurements but only five artifacts. Drs. Marchand and Sallé regard as intentional the form of a pierre-figure from a lower Capsian horizon in the northern Sahara, and consider that Capsian types were derived from the Egyptian site of Kom Ombo where Le Moustier forms are recognized. M. Paul Wernert contributes to the discussion of the rock-engravings of Gavrinis, on which several archaeologists have exercised their ingenuity.

Revue Archéologique, 6^e sér., tome 9, avril-juin, 1937:—Excavations in Western Asia, 1935-6, by G. Contenau; Two decorated columns from Cyzicus, by P. Devambez; Boundary stone of a sanctuary of Zeus at Thasos, by P. Guillon; Subsericæ vestes, by T. Schmitter.

Les Monuments historiques de la France, vol. 2, fasc. 2:—The part deals with the exhibits arranged by the department at the Paris Exhibition of 1937.

Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française, tome 34, no. 5 (mai 1937):—The hafting of palaeoliths is under discussion, and M. Desmaisons points out that there are no gum-trees in Europe for fixing axe-heads into clubs as in Australia, and perhaps raw hide was shrunk on the butt of a hand-axe. The Abbé Breuil contributes a definition of the Tayacien (p. 233), and M. Raoul Daniel attributes the lower industry of the Beauregard site near Nemours to early La Madeleine, not to Aurignac. M. M. Octobon describes a site at Claix in the Charente which has yielded an industry named after Le Campigny and well illustrated in the article. Neolithic finds in the Var are illustrated, including specimens of the fifteen flint arrow-heads from burnt burials in Cap Taillat barrow. The industry of Le Campigny is again exemplified near Mantes-Gassicourt, Seine-et-Oise, with tranchets and a tanged arrow-head; and other discoveries figured are a stone lamp and flint blade of exceptional workmanship.

No. 6 (juin 1937):—The Libourne museum in the Gironde claims to have the largest palaeolith known: it is a flint hand-axe of St. Acheul type, 17½ in. long, 8½ in. wide, 3¼ in. thick, and weighs over 17 lb. A map is supplied of the neolithic area of Rijckholt Ste Gertrude in Dutch Limburg, 12¼ miles north-east of Liège, and excavations are described by three Dominican fathers. The Marquis de Pardieu furnishes an inventory of neolithic finds in the Bourbonnais, with sites in alphabetical order; and Miss Garrod's discoveries on Mount Carmel are summarized by Fr. Delage.

Nos. 7-8 (juillet-août 1937):—The Folsom industry of New Mexico is referred by some to the end of the Pleistocene and is illustrated by Col. Vésignié. Prof. Barnes has an article on the manufacture of gun-flints in relation to the graver-blow of Tardenois; and M. Patte describes some objects of antler, dating from the Aurignac period in Vienne. M. Daniel compares a palaeolithic industry near Nemours with the basal industry of

Laugerie-Haute; and M. Garde illustrates finds on a neolithic site at Abzac, Gironde.

No. 9 (septembre 1937):—The excavations at Choukoutien, about 37 miles south-west of Peking, are briefly described by Dr. Pei, who was in charge as palaeontologist; and photographs give some idea of the site and finds, including the third skull of *Sinanthropus* type, discovered in 1936. M. Alexis Cabrol describes some Bronze Age implements, a primitive flat celt supporting the view that it was copied in metal from a stone specimen. Perforated axe-hammers from the Vendée are dealt with by Comte de Guignard de Germond, and Abbé Nouel describes the flints from an upper palaeolithic site (La Chapelle-St. Mesmin, Loiret). Finds at Chery-Char treuve, Aisne, are referred to the third stage of Tardenois by MM. Octobon and Lamarre, who figure some large scrapers in addition to microliths.

L'Anthropologie, tome 47, nos. 3-4 (juillet 1937):—Abbé Philippe continues his account of Fort-Harrouard (a fortified plateau in Eure-et-Loir) and deals with the pottery finds of the neolithic and subsequent periods, with photographic illustrations; also a stone weight of the Bronze Age is discussed in relation to the early weight system of central Europe. M. R. de Saint-Périer's memoir on La Madeleine finds in the Isturitz cavern is reviewed; and the pioneers of prehistory in France noticed by the editor (p. 360). Reference may also be made to Penck's paper on movements of peoples in Germany during the Palaeolithic; and to Birkner's *Prehistory and Proto-history of Bavaria*. The oscillations of Laufen and Aachen are now regarded simply as pauses in the retreat of the Würm glacier (p. 369). Dr. Leakey's *Stone Age Africa* is also reviewed, and relevant passages in *L'Anthropologie* cited; and there are two papers noticed on primitive man in North America, about which more may soon be heard. There is a sympathetic obituary of Sir Grafton Elliot Smith; and the bestowal of the Society's gold medal on the Abbé Breuil is recorded.

Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie, 298^e livraison:—Canon van den Perre, bishop-elect of Saint Omer, by Abbé Coolen; A fourteenth-century figure of the Virgin from Pihem, by Dr. Lauselle; Capital punishment in the Saint Omer district before the eighteenth century, by J. de Pas.

Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie, tome 36, part 2:—Feudal statistics of the old bailiwick of Saint Omer, part 4, by J. de Pas.

Hespéris, tome 24, parts 1-2:—Critical notes on the history of science amongst the Musulmans; The Ibn Bâso, by H. P. J. Renaud; Hispano-Maghribine pottery of the twelfth century from the excavations at the castle of Aïn Ghaboula, by H. Terrasse; The Numidian 'mapalia' and their survival in the Sahara, by C. Le Cœur; A mention of Morocco in the *Nibelungenlied*, by A. Ruhlmann; Representation in Musulman law, by V. Loubignac; The manufacture of gold thread at Fez, by M. Vicaire and R. Le Tourneau; Introduction to a methodical decipherment of the 'tīfīnāgh' inscriptions of the central Sahara, by G. Marcy; The Mediterranean: the men and their work, by J. Célérier; A bronze group from Banasa, by L. Châtelain; A new manuscript of a volume of the 'Iḥāṭa' of Ibn al-Halīb, by Moḥammed el Fāsi; Ibero-Africana, by R. Ricard.

Germania, Jahrgang 21, Heft 3:—Dwelling-houses of the Altheim

culture at Goldberg, by G. Bersu; A woman's grave of the Bronze Age, at Bliedersstedt, by V. Toepfer; A Hallstatt period chariot find, by P. Reinecke; Two Germanic girdles of the early Imperial Age, by H. J. Hundt; A military gravestone with death-scenes from Carnuntum, by A. Betz; Two new Mithras reliefs from Bulgaria, by C. M. Danoff; On the discovery of new milestones in Upper Germany, by H. Desselhauf; Gothic gravestones in Constantinople, by A. M. Schneider; Hunnish vessel from Little Wallachia, by J. Nestor and C. S. Nicolaescu-Ploșor; An early Frankish warrior's grave at Krefeld-Gellep, by A. Steeger; A 'kalenderberg' urn from the north Frankenalb, by P. Reinecke; A newly discovered Roman paved road in the Brenner gorge, by P. M. Pembaur; Stamp of the first Flavia cohort from Grimmlinghausen, by A. Oxé; Merovingian trade relations with East Prussia, by J. Werner.

Mannus, 1937, Heft 3:—The origin of thin-butted flint celts in Brandenburg is discussed by Dr. Umbreit, with several illustrations; and M. Helmers endeavours to explain the figures on Bronze Age razors from Lower Saxony. The origin of house-urns is discussed by Dr. Agde, and recent discoveries of the Urnfield culture on the Lower Rhine are well presented by Dr. Stampfuss. In dealing with the damascened spear-head from Termonde in Belgium, Dr. Paulsen takes occasion to parade much cognate material; and Dr. Krumbein points out geometrical elements in prehistoric design. Pollen-analysis has been used to date certain sand deposits in north-west Germany, and Dr. Nietsch supplies a table of species. A stone slab from Hornburg, Manfeld, dating from the end of the Stone Age, has a mass of engraved lines here photographed, but spear-heads seem to be the only items recognized.

Nachrichtenblatt für Deutsche Vorzeit, Jahrgang 13, Heft 7:—Discoveries in Bohemia in 1936, by C. Streit; Discoveries in Moravia, by K. Schirmeisen.

Heft 8:—Amber ornaments of the older Bronze Age from Leopoldsdorf, Lower Austria, by S. Loos, K. Willvonseder, and M. Haitinger; Bavaria right of the Rhine, by F. Wagner.

Nassauische Annalen, vol. 56:—The castle of Eltville, an architectural study, by A. Milani; The name Eltville, by P. Wagner; The house of the lords Langwerth von Simmern in Eltville, by W. Hofmann and H. Maurer; The Cronberg palace at Geisenheim, by A. Zobus; The foundation of the Benedictine abbey of Johannisberg in the Rheingau, by P. Acht; A journey through the Rheingau in 1660, by F. V. Arens; The Gutenberg connexions with Eltville, by F. Kutsch.

Oldenburger Jahrbuch, Band 41:—Prussian naval policy in 1852 and the foundation of Wilhelmshaven, by Capt. H. v. Waldeyer-Hartz; Gilds in Jever down to 1806, by K. Hoyer; Civic rights in Oldenburg, 1345–1861, by D. Kohl; The constitution and administration of Delmenhorst down to 1811, by E. Grundrig; The Friesoythe coin find, by K. Kennepohl and H. Ottenjann; The population of Cloppenburg from the second half of the fifteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, by B. Riesenbeck.

Notizie degli Scavi, 6th ser., vol. 12, parts 10–12:—Pollenzo (Lombardy), a Roman necropolis (first and second centuries A.D.) and its contents, by

G. Pesce. Lucca, Remains of a building with inscription over the doorway of three *magistri mercatorum* (second half of first century A.D.): a rectangular cavity in a mass of concrete close by may have contained the *arca* for the funds of the College, by A. Minto. Citerna, a grave with pottery which includes a red-figured kylix evidently imitated from a type of Attic red-figured vessels, by the same, who also describes an Etruscan terracotta urn with a combat between warriors and the demon with a plough, at S. Casciano dei Bagni; four Etruscan urns at Montalcino; chamber-tombs near Pitigliano with pottery; and at Cinigiano (Grosseto) two excavated granaries (*putei granari*). Inventory of early pottery and bronze objects found on the site of a necropolis near Orbetello, by P. Raveggi. Tuscania, Contents of late Etruscan tombs (vases, terracotta masks, bronze mirrors, etc.), suggesting that the city was not founded till the latest period of Etruscan power, by R. Vighi; Fiordimonte (Umbria), Pre-Roman inscription (fourth century B.C.), one of the few hitherto known from Picenum, by V. Cianfarani. On the Via Appia Antica near Velletri, marble fragments of a circular tomb with rectangular porch surmounted by a sculptured tympanum, by O. Nardini. Banzi (Matera) in Lucania, Contents of four Greek tombs, including red-figured vases (fifth to fourth century B.C.), a bronze helmet of archaic Corinthian type, and other objects, by G. Pesce. Metaponto, Antiquities found in making an irrigation canal, especially an almost perfect statuette (Pentelic marble) of Aphrodite holding a small Eros, by the same. Venosa (Potenza), Preliminary report on the excavation of a section of the Roman amphitheatre, and of the restoration of the so-called 'House of Horace' (evidently baths, now acquired by the State), both in connexion with the bimillenary of the poet, by the same. Sicily, Termini Imeres, Preliminary report on the exploration of archaic indigenous occupation of Monte Castellaccio, by J. B. Marconi. Sardinia, Cagliari, Late Roman burials (third century A.D. or after), by D. Levi. Illyricum, Zara, Recent finds (pottery, glass, etc.) from the site of the cemetery (first to second century A.D.) to the south-east of the city, by E. Galli.

Vol. 13, parts 1-3:—Remains of a Roman bridge at Sigliano (Etruria), on an ancient road connecting Arezzo with Rimini, by A. Minto. At Montecanino near Capena, M. Pallottino describes the remains of (apparently) an early medieval (eighth-century) chapel filled with graves surrounding a more important burial in the centre, a villa rustica of the Early Imperial Age, two important specimens of Graeco-Roman sculpture of the same period, etc. C. Pietrangeli publishes the two original inscriptions (soon after 240 B.C.) now in the Museo Civico at Spoleto, which give the text of the *lex Spoletina* (C.I.L. i). One of these was rediscovered by Sordini in 1913, thus establishing its authenticity, which had been doubted. Account of the removal to the Museo Nazionale, Rome, of the portions of the Ara Pacis discovered in 1903 below the Palazzo Almagia, but left untouched till the spring of this year owing to the insecurity of the foundations, which have now been reinforced, and discussion of the places they occupied in the monument, by G. Moretti. Dedication inscription of an image of the Genius of a centuria of the Praetorians, dated 1st Jan. 181 (similar to those in C.I.L. vi, 212-14), by G. R. Giglioli. Remains of a building of uncertain character (Im-

perial Age) discovered in the new quarter between the Via Latina and the Via Appia Nova, by A. L. Pietrogrande. Various Roman remains on the Via Prenestina (near the Forte Prenestino), including a mosaic with a framed head of Autumn (?), and a sarcophagus with the Labours of Herakles, by the same. A fine bronze seal with bust of Septimius Severus and Greek inscription showing that it belonged to a well-known gild of athletes which had its head-quarters near S. Pietro in Vincoli, by R. Paribeni. D. Mustili describes sculpture discovered at Fondi, on the line of the Via Appia, including a colossal bust of Augustus, a male portrait head (possibly of Caesar), upper part of the statue of a divinity (Age of Hadrian), circular altar with three reliefs of Herakles (first century A.D.), statuette portrait of a girl in the character of Diana (first century A.D.), etc. Sicily, Catania, Discovery of a section of the great cemetery to the north of the city, a fountain-basin in the garden of the Governor's palace, and other remains, by G. Libertini. Sardinia, D. Levi describes the discovery at Nule, near the remains of a nuraghe, of a prehistoric bronze figure, apparently of a centaur type, but with several details of local origin.

Rendiconti della R. Accad. Naz. dei Lincei, 6th ser., vol. 12, parts 5-6 (1936):—The only article of antiquarian interest is that by G. Bertoni on the Italian inscription recording the date of the foundation of the cathedral of Ferrara (1135) in a mosaic destroyed in 1712. The earliest evidence of its form and lettering before a restoration after an earthquake in 1572 shows that it was nearly contemporary with the building.

Parts 7-10:—The only article of archaeological interest is a very full discussion by G. Della Valle of the Portrait of Lucretius (illustrated), in which G. Lippold's conjecture that it is to be seen in the well-known bronze head of the pseudo-Seneca in the Naples Museum is supported by fresh arguments and illustrations.

Atti della R. Accad. Naz. dei Lincei, Rendiconto dell' Adunanza Solenne del 7 Giugno 1936, vol. 4, fasc. 8 (1936):—Account of the proceedings, addresses, publication of prizes, etc., in the presence of the King of Italy.

Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, vol. 14, nos. 1, 2:—The basilica and cemetery of St. Alexander on the Via Nomentana, originally discovered in 1854 and recently restored, by G. Belvederi. Excavations on the site of the chapel on the Mount of the Beatitudes on the northern shore of the Lake of Galilee, and account of other Christian sites in the neighbourhood, by B. Bagatti. Dom L. C. Mohlberg discusses the meaning of the words 'carmen Christo quasi Deo' in the younger Pliny's letter to Trajan (x, 96), giving an account of Christian worship, and concludes that it was something like the Kyrie Eleison. The cult of St. Bibiana at Rome, by E. Donckel. Discovery of the ancient 'diaconicum' of the cathedral of Grado to the right of the apse, with mosaic floor containing the monogram of bishop Helias (d. 587) and the tomb of a bishop Marcianus who died in exile, probably in 593, by P. Paschini.

Fornvännen, 1937, häfte 3:—A runic stone dating from the first half of the sixth century has been found on farm-land at Söderköping in Östergötland and is here described by Arthur Nordén, who recognizes a magical meaning in the inscription. Oskar Lidén contends that some grooved stones

near Kullen were used for producing edged tools in prehistoric times, as the cross-sections of the grooves would not fit modern implements. Two medieval runic inscriptions are reproduced from Börstig church in Västergötland; and the Varnhem coin-hoard is studied by Harold Widéen.

Häfte 4:—Birger Nerman regards as a ritual drum a bronze sun-disc on a perforated circlet ending in wheel-like projections: it was found in 1847 at Balkåkra, Ystad, and dates from the Bronze Age like a similar specimen found at Hachendorf near Ödenburg in Hungary. A remarkable cremation burial, with furniture like the cists, is described by Folke Hansen; and armour ornamented with heraldic devices, from the cemetery of those who fell in the battle of Korsbetningen near Visby in 1361, is considered by Arne Hoff and Harald Ollsen as Danish rather than Swedish. There are three photographs of well-known stone monuments in Denmark to illustrate an account of the Archaeological Congress at Copenhagen in 1937.

Schweizerisches Landesmuseum in Zürich: Jahresbericht 1936:—The Rueras coin find, by E. Vogt; Ulrich Ban, painter and glass-painter of Zürich, by H. Lehmann; Part of an armour of the school of Pompeo della Cesa, by E. A. Gessler; Zürich porcelain, by K. Frei; Early Bronze Age pottery, by E. Vogt.

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Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries

Thursday 21st October 1937. Sir Frederic Kenyon, President, in the chair.

Dr. Philip Nelson, F.S.A., read a paper on Limoges thirteenth-century enamel altar-cruets (p. 49), and exhibited a twelfth-century bronze crucifix figure, a French thirteenth-century filigree cross, and a bronze dragon staff-head of the thirteenth century.

Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, F.S.A., read a paper on a new Great Seal of Henry V, exhibited by Mr. Herbert Chitty, F.S.A., by permission of the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College.

Mr. Dudley Buxton, F.S.A., exhibited a leaden funerary chalice, paten, and cruets from Spain.

Thursday 28th October 1937. Sir Frederic Kenyon, President, in the chair.

Miss Dorothy Garrod and Prof. S. P. ÓRíordáin were admitted Fellows.

Mr. J. P. T. Burchell, F.S.A., read a paper on the Low Level deposits of the river Thames and their contained industries.

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